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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 July 1983

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BENO SPEECH TO EIGHTH CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jun 83 pp 3,4

[Speech by Mikula Beno, secretary, CPCZ Central Committee, at Eighth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee]

[Text] The report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the submitted material show that the accelerated application of the achievements of science and technology in practice represents an entire set of immediate and long-range measures. To make research and development [R & D] progress into a real axis of economic and social development, planning, management, material and moral stimulation of work requires a scientifically justified approach at all levels and sectors aiming, with the help of improved economic, at the solution of our key task, namely, improved labor productivity.

The Central Committee has emphasized several times in the past that the transition of our economy to an intensive path of development expresses the innermost interests and needs of our people, that it is a difficult, long-term but, at the same time, necessary task. Its realization is based on the accumulated experience from the building of socialism, on the rational use of the production and R & D base, on broad cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, and on the inexhaustible creative potential of the activity of our working people.

Justifiably, we ask a question to what extent our party--a leading and organizing political force--is prepared to fulfill its avant-garde role in the implementation of this program. How we implement the directive of the 16th Congress which emphasized the decisive significance of a party that is united and capable of action and which characterized the concern for this party as a manifestation of responsibility for socialism.

Annual membership meetings and party conferences were a good test of the preparedness of communists for the forthcoming growing tasks. These party meetings held at the outset of 1983, a key year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, are being evaluated at all levels, starting with basic organizations and ending with kraj committees, as an important period of intensive political activity by the party. In a democratic atmosphere, more than 1.5 million members and candidate members evaluated in a matter-of-fact way and critically the results of their work and discussed the basic tasks within their jurisdiction and how to implement them.

The struggle of the party for the realization of the strategic and socioeconomic line of the development of society is important to bring about positive results not only in the fulfillment of the basic tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan but also in strengthening the social and political security of our people. All this demonstrates the growing confidence of the working people in the social system, in the policy of the party and the state, and in their own strength and possibilities.

The party meetings evaluated initially the work of communists and entire organizations and aktivs in the party and educational and organizational work among the working people. The fact that the annual assemblies of communists took place under the sign of the firm Marxist-Leninist unity of party ranks has utmost significance for the future work of the party. These supreme meetings of party organs and organizations expressed full support for the Central Committee in the elaboration and implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of the 16th Congress. "We are not succumbing to complacency," stated Comrade Gustav Husak at the Prague City conference, "but it stems from a realistic weighing of pluses and minuses that we can face the future, being sure that our party with its tested cadres and the Marxist-Leninist world view is able to overcome all difficulties and achieve further development." ? 10

In accordance with the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, principle attention at the annual membership meetings and party conferences was given to questions dealing with the implementation of the economic-political policy of the 16th Congress. The communists approached these questions as the most important front in the struggle for the realization of the congress resolutions. The main tasks adopted and the measures for their fulfillment confirm that the axis of the entire activity of the party more and more is strengthening the authority of the state plan, and achieving better effectiveness and efficiency of the national economy and faster transition of our economy to the path of intensive development. I shall mention at least the sets of anti-import and innovation initiatives, complex rationalization, the improvers' and inventors' movement, or the progress and results of the all-inclusive investigation into the consumption of energy and raw materials. These higher forms of labor initiative confirm broad possibilities and the result of the unified approach of state, economic and social organs and organizations under the leadership of the party.

If we emphasize, together with the kraj and district committees, this further improvement in the level of the work and activity of party organizations, we do not do so absolutistically, we do not hide differences in the quality of work or problems and shortcomings which appear more sharply exactly in the light of the more demanding tasks and demands on the party and the entire society.

The important factor, however, is that the experience from the implementation of the congress resolution, especially as far as the activization and mobilization of the human factor is concerned, create good foundations on which we can rely in the realization of the resolutions of today's plenum of the Central Committee.

The evaluation of the annual membership meetings and party conferences has also shown that we have not yet succeeded everywhere in developing an effective

approach to securing R & D tasks. It is necessary to choose the most reliable methods for increasing the effectiveness of production under which science will make it possible for practice to find necessary solutions of the most important problems.

In this struggle, we must first make sure that party organs and organizations make securing R & D tasks a priority in their everyday leadership, political-organizational, cadre, educational, and controlling activity. Party organs and organizations must not be content with mere statistics concerning plan fulfillment, but they must apply economic-political approaches in a more demanding way. I have in mind a complex and faster utilization of all available resources and reserves in the growth of effectiveness, labor productivity and production quality. All this obviously requires communists to be in the forefront among the pioneers of progress so that we may be able to put the realization of the main directions in R & D acceleration under direct party control.

The increase of party influence on our economy even in this sector will require party organs and organizations to fully develop the instruments of political leadership, set forth progressive, concrete, but at the same time realistic, tasks, stand in the forefront of their fulfillment, and responsibly control how these tasks are fulfilled. They must also develop a programmatic approach, conceptlike attitude and close cooperation among workers, technicians and scientific personnel and strengthen the responsibility, authority and effectiveness of the economic management.

From the point of view of these demands and in the interest of further development of the party's ability to realize these tasks, primarily the district committees have the serious task of improving the role and effectiveness of work of the basic organizations of the party and upgrading their management. Annual meetings and party conferences confirmed the correctness of the long-range orientation of the Central Committee toward improving the work of this basic link of the party. We are witnessing the intensification of the political work of communists in working collectives in those places which determine directly the results of party policy. Kraj and district committees in this respect have shown good results. This was reflected in the resolutions adopted at the conferences. The experience of the kraj and district committees in this area is more and more on the agenda of the Central Committee, the Presidium and the Secretariat.

When determining the approaches to be taken in the period following party conferences, it is necessary to overcome decisively the manifestations of ineffective formalism and red tape which act as a brake on party work. Very topical is a resolution of the 16th Congress which states that the "improvement of immediate contact with the basic organizations, orientation toward the decisive tasks, and effective assistance in the solution of problems directly on the spot is the main content of work primarily in district committees." The political-organizational securing of the resolutions of the Eighth Plenum is also based on the significant position of the basic link of the party.

Annual meetings and party conferences confirmed once again how significant is the systematic work with the party aktiv, how important it is to have well-trained party cadres. In order to secure the necessary continuity, the party

committees have been strengthened by inclusion of able and devoted communists who are politically and technically trained and have confidence and authority at their workplaces. More than 284,000 members have been elected to the committees of the basic organizations. It is encouraging to have almost one-half of the membership of the committees of the basic organizations in the production sphere consisting of communists-workers and to see a permanent improvement in their political and technical preparedness.

The long-range preparation of this basic aktiv and the special attention paid to the younger generation of future functionaries are being favorably demonstrated. Since 1981, over 28,000 chairmen and 66,000 committee members of the basic organizations, as well as approximately 4,600 members and candidate members of the district committees took short-term courses mainly at kraj and district political schools. Regarding the complexity of tasks and demands put on party leadership, foremost attention must be paid to care for the entire party aktiv, both members of elected organs and employees of the party apparatus: This obviously cannot be achieved through one-shot--even if of high-quality--schooling. Here, we must have a planned and managed process of political training and acquisition of the Leninist style of work in practice.

The growth of the political involvement of communists and of their personal example in the implementation of the policy of the party was determined at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee as a long-term basis for the improvement of the party ranks. This is also a point of departure for the regulation of the flow of new blood into the party. The Central Committee received detailed information which shows that on the whole we are successfully implementing the directive of the 16th Congress in this area: to see to it that the party develops as a living organism and that it strengthens its influence on the decisive sectors. It is encouraging to see the revitalization and further improvement of the favorable structure of the membership base. We are witnessing that our members are better educated and that our candidate members and young party members are receiving better attention.

We must keep in mind that an ever-growing part of the membership base no longer has any direct experience of the class struggles to achieve our present socialism and to build the party foundations, nor of the overcoming of the deep crisis of the party and society in the 60's. The share of members and candidates admitted into the party in the period following the crisis years represents 62 percent of the economically active membership base. This is also reflected in the party's aktiv and apparatus. Hence, it will be necessary to respond to these facts with more active ideological and practical political education of communists.

In many plants, with effective assistance of district and kraj committees, it will be necessary to pay much more attention to careful admission of new candidates, especially from workers' vocations. Increased demands on communists, the requirement of higher responsibility and discipline, and a more stringent evaluation of the fulfillment of party tasks--all this is reflected in the party admission procedure. This policy puts higher demands on the political work of the working collectives and on individual training of future communists to take willingly upon themselves the only privilege--to offer more for the common cause and to serve as an example in work and private life.

The kraj and district conferences correctly determined the need for strengthening the influence of the party in the collectives of creative workers. Especially in research, developmental, design and construction workplaces, in the sectors in charge of production preparation and the application of the decisive programs, it will be necessary to pay permanent attention of the decisive programs, it will be necessary to pay permanent attention to the improvement of the level of party influence. Even if in recent years the number of party members in these sectors has increased, the structure and assignment of this membership do not correspond to real needs. Out of almost 200,000 party members with university education, only 31 percent have technical degrees.

Annual meetings and conferences, when discussing the basic tasks of party organs and organizations, emphasized the improvement of management, development of the role of the leadership cadres as qualified and competent technical and political managers and organizers of the working collectives. They, together with the youth and trade union organizations, under the political guidance of party organizations, are responsible for creating at individual workplaces a creative atmosphere of socialist husbandry where there will be unity between words and deeds. This is not a new, but long-term and, an especially pressing political requirement: to achieve the optimum relationship between the interests and needs of various groups of people and societal interests, and to use these interests and needs as a driving force for an intensive growth of our economy.

This great potential force of conscious socialist labor was very precisely foreseen by the classics of scientific teaching in the form of the imperative of socialist construction. The educational and organizational work of the party faces the difficult task of looking creatively for ways leading to the best economic results, of developing economic thinking in practice in the spirit of conscious utilization and operation of the objective laws of socialist economy.

Karl Marx pointed out that for the acceleration of the development of the production forces one needs the appropriate forms of organization of our life. However, we will not move forward unless we translate this theoretical truth into the language of practice. I am recalling Lenin's warning against the danger of the naive faith of certain workers who believe that they can solve all problems by issuing communist degrees.

The recently concluded plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has helped us in this respect with very interesting ideas. The theoretical-practical conclusions in the speech of Yuri Andropov concerning the content, driving forces and paths of a planned multilateral improvement of developed socialism are primarily related to the main production force, namely, man and his work and development. This means a conscious discipline and creative attitude toward work together with a precise and correct organization of work and the remuneration of the people.

To this is directly linked the requirement to strengthen everywhere responsibility for work, order and legality, conscious discipline, production, planning, technological and customer-supplier discipline. All this is of course based on the increasingly more integrated relations of the entire economic and social

reproduction process. This is also the meaning of the measures taken by party and state organs which appear in the letter of the Central Committee Presidium.

The struggle for the goals which we are facing requires all sectors of socialist construction to emphasize the growth of effectiveness of all, but especially managerial, work. We know how important it is for the cadres responsible for the sector of science, research, and the entire area of production preparation to possess, in addition to technical prerequisites, the necessary political preparedness and moral and working qualities of a fighter and organizer for the realization of complex R & D ideas. To this must correspond long-term projects of preparing future workers for the scientific, research, technical and the entire economic field and especially a successful conclusion of such preparation. For the immediate future, this is a very important part of the activity of party organs and organizations. Toward this goal we also have directed the approved plan for raising the quality level of our managers and the planned control of the results of the complex evaluation of the nomenclatura cadres.

Securing the successful fulfillment during the remaining years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan of the economic and social program adopted at the congress as they were responsibly projected in their plans by party organizations at their annual meetings and conferences, together with the resolutions and measures which will be adopted at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, will require developing a great political and organizational effort by the party and securing for this effort the active support of all working collectives. This will be a demanding test of the political maturity of the entire party aktiv and of all communists. We have the necessary prerequisites for the party organs and organizations to do well in this struggle.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BENO WRITES ON ROLE OF PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 8, Apr 83 pp 72-76

[Article by Mikulas Beno, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: "Increasing the Role of Primary Party Organizations in the Realization of the Decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is concentrating its chief efforts on the implementation of a general policy for the building of a developed socialist society adopted at the 14th CPCZ Congress and further developed in decisions of the 15th and 16th party congresses.

A reliable guiding line in the solution of all key questions relating to the building of socialism is the creative application of the eternally living and constantly enriching teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The experience verified in practice by the Soviet Union and its Leninist party in the solution of tasks relating to the building of socialism and communism is of enduring value. The possibility of relying on this experience augments our capacities and helps us to move ahead more rapidly in the interest of all-round and harmonious development of the individual, strengthening the unity and might of the socialist community and the cause of peace and progress.

The realization of large-scale tasks and objectives advanced by the 16th CPCZ Congress, while taking into account the difficult internal and foreign economic conditions, makes it necessary to constantly increase demands on party work. We face the task of further deepening of the guiding role of the party in all spheres of the life of our society and of boosting the efficiency of party organs and organizations and their ability to lead workers, to organize, to educate and to mobilize them for dedicated conscientious work and for increasing fuller use of the growing might and potential of the country for accomplishment of the plans of the congress. General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak in the accountability report at the 16th party congress emphasized quite definitely that "care for the party, further strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist unity, militancy and proper direction of the creative energy of the great army of communists--all this is an expression of the highest responsibility for the further development of socialism and for the future of our people." This position serves as a generalization of the historical experience of our party; it formulates requirements for work of the Central Committee and all party organs and primary organizations.

The pattern of growth of the guiding role of the party in a society building socialism is fully confirmed by our experience which we extracted both from sustained historical victories and from mistakes and oversights. Any departure from Marxist-Leninist theory or disregard of Leninist principles of construction and work of the party reduces its efficiency and results in reduction of the revolutionary conscientiousness and militancy of the party ranks and in the final analysis threatens the very foundations of socialism.

This is why we turn today to the "Lessons of Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Society after the 13th CPCZ Congress" as a document retaining its meaningfulness and pertinency which discloses the causes of the process operating in the attack of the counterrevolutionary forces in 1968. Cleaning out of the party ranks of right opportunist elements and restoration of the Marxist-Leninist character of the party served as a basic precondition for all-round strengthening of its leading role in society.

Today the CPCZ numbers in its ranks more than 1.5 million members and party candidates united into 46,370 primary organizations. We understand that the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress is directly connected to the growth of efficiency of primary organizations constituting the foundation of the party and the political nucleus of labor collectives. The need for a steady rise of its efficiency and strengthening of ties of communists with the masses was emphasized with special force at the conference of secretaries of the central committees of communist and workers parties of socialist countries dealing with questions of party organizational work that was held in March-April 1982 in Prague. We pay great attention in the work of our party to the use of the rich experience generalized at the conference. We see in enhancement of the role of primary party organizations a most important proof of the all-out strengthening of the guiding role of the party.

The chief task of communists and workers collectives today is the successful fulfillment of the directives of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the field of economic construction and the attainment of plan targets for the third year of the 7th Five-Year Plan, which were concretized at the November (1982) plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. The indicators of the state plan of economic and social development of Czechoslovakia for 1983 proceed from the need of further strengthening balance in the economy, speeding up the developmental dynamics of the national economy and further growth of production efficiency. This should be done through intensification of production thanks to the accelerated introduction of achievements of scientific-technical progress, obtaining of planned indicators for economy of fuel, power and raw materials on the basis of formation of a rational structure of production and still fuller inclusion of our economy in international socialist division of labor, first of all with the Soviet Union. The CPCZ Central Committee is having party organs and organizations aim at further boosting efficiency of supervision and growth of political and vocational training of cadres responsive to the needs of the day.

The struggle for systematic implementation of the economic strategy determined at the 16th congress is bringing about a fusion of political organizational

and educational work in the party and cadre and control activities in all fields and in all spheres of the life of society. These questions are at the center of attention of election meetings of primary party organizations and rayon and regional conferences which take place in the first half of this year.

The provision of a solution to social-economic tasks is not only a key question but also one of the most difficult directions of party work. Increasing attention is being paid to having every communist and every labor collective understand thoroughly the party's economic policy and having end results of fulfillment of concrete tasks serve as a decisive criterion of assessment of the work of the party organization, supervisory bodies and labor collectives. This contributes to increasing the role and responsibility of the primary organizations of our party. More than a half of them operate in industry and agriculture where 56 percent of all party members and candidate members work.

It was emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress that the effectiveness of the work and the prestige of each party organization are enhanced proportionally by how consistently it puts party policy into practice. This meets the requirement that all activity of party organizations must be permeated with the spirit of strict and critical analysis, principled fulfillment of the decisions and a resourceful approach to the overcoming of arising difficulties. An integrated program-goal approach to securing realization of the decisions of the congresses is of major importance to ensuring unity of the efforts of party, state and economic organs and public organizations. We direct party organs and organizations of all levels to the formulation of clear objectives and the working out of measures in response to them and to having the unity of political organizational and ideological work become deeper in supervisory activities in each sector.

The principle of concreteness in the work of party organizations is gaining an increasingly wider hold. The struggle for realization of the directives of the congress is proceeding more decisively: to receive full value for every koruna spent and kilogram of metal, petroleum or cement used as well as more goods and agricultural products from each hectare of land and to achieve greater growth of national income with presently existing or even fewer resources. With this aim in mind, we are directing party organizations to have communists become leaders of shock work and discoverers of internal reserves on the basis of full accounting of the results of the now ongoing public review of thrifty expenditure of fuel, electric power and motor fuel at all production sectors.

Practice convincingly proves that the strength of labor collectives and their means of fulfilling production targets depend on the activeness of their political core--the primary party organization and the party group. The strength and influence of the party organization is bigger there where it is more solidly based on the labor collective. It is especially necessary today under the more difficult conditions for primary organizations to aim their work more single-mindedly at the creation of a more favorable moral and political climate among labor collectives and for communists to exert an influence through personal example in labor and to advantageously explain party policy. Party organizations are to be credited with organizing the movement of brigades of socialist labor and complex brigades of rationalizers, which play a major

role in the solution of social-economic problems. Their participation in management, in the struggle for a regime of economy and in exercising control is constantly growing.

In order to be on top of the problems facing us, it is necessary to fundamentally tighten discipline and to boost the role of party control over each work place. Every day, life convinces us of how great the power of control is in the realization of party decisions, in inculcation and strengthening of responsibility for the fulfillment of assignments and in the struggle for strengthening of order in production and of state discipline. In this connection, we bring to the forefront the necessity of more comprehensive utilization of the right of control over the work of operational management by primary party organizations and of subordinating it in fuller measure to the tasks of providing qualitative plan indicators. One should not be satisfied with formal reports on general fulfillment of production and economic indicators. It is necessary to penetrate more deeply ~~into~~ the nature of the problems of raising efficiency, quality and regime of economy.

Without the slightest doubt, good results are achieved ~~where~~ where party organizations make strict demands on managers and provide support to those who with initiative, confidence and energy solve problems and actively react to new conditions and increased demands. The growth of the leading role of the party even more demandingly raises the question of the proper development of the mechanism of party leadership under concrete conditions. Party organs and organizations pay special attention to this important problem. They aim in their work at systematic use of the resources of political leadership, greater demands on organizational and cadre work and on training of workers and mobilization of collectives for work in the spirit of high creative activity.

A decisive prerequisite for successful fulfillment by party organs and organizations of their tasks is the steady rise in the level of intraparty life, firm ideological conviction, organizational unity and militancy of party forces and constant concern for their strengthening and qualitative growth.

The unceasing concern of the party for work in the spirit of recent congresses is providing positive results. The ranks of the CPCZ have been qualitatively replenished and improved. In the period following 1971, the number of workers in the party has grown 1.5-fold, essentially from large enterprises. Their proportion in the party together with communists in agricultural cooperatives and pensioners from among workers now constitutes 51 percent. Of the 100,165 candidates accepted in the time elapsed since the 16th congress, 60.3 percent are workers, 6.7 percent--members of agricultural cooperatives, 22.3 percent--representatives of the intelligentsia, including 3 percent who are students. For all practical purposes, communists work today in all key positions and in all production sectors. CPCZ candidate members basically are accepted from among those employed in the decisive sectors of industry and at leading enterprises and fundamental production operations, which to a significant decree influence the accomplishment of the social-economic program and the training of people.

The CPCZ Central Committee in June 1981 adopted the decree "On Further Improving the Quality of the Membership Base after the 14th CPCZ Congress." The decree springs from the fact that the party has been consolidated on a high organizational and ideological level and possesses a favorable social and age structure. Demands on party work are constantly being raised. The complexity of the problems on which we are working and the changes taking place in the composition of party ranks oblige us to intensify the positive process of raising the quality of the membership base. The share of communists that has been added to the party since 1970 exceeds 40 percent of the total number of its members. Concomitantly with raising requirements on the preparation and acceptance into the party of young people, unslackening attention is being paid to the ideological, class and political conditioning of all communists. This is being done so that the need of further improving the level of party work never disappears from view and so that revolutionary conviction and activity of communists and the competence of party organizations in the struggle for the cause of socialism and communism grow.

Growth of the competence of party organization and their rising influence in all sectors makes increasingly higher demands on the broad party aktiv. Members of party committees and party bureaus of primary organizations alone comprise an army of almost 30,000 of an elected guiding aktiv that participates directly in implementation of party policy in their sectors. This is why we pay constant attention to its selection and all-round preparation, training and stabilization of the makeup as a most important component part of all the work of our party on cadre formation.

In the matter of raising the efficiency of primary organizations, education of communists and development of the struggle for the solution of political, economic and social tasks, an indispensable place belongs to party meetings. In this connection, there has been established a clear-cut rhythm of holding them in the life of party organizations. Party organs, the political apparatus and the guiding aktiv are concentrating all their efforts on raising the level of their training and, what is most important, effectiveness of party discussion so that the most important and urgent problems are resolved at them on the basis of a profound knowledge of the questions and so that communists take away from them clear, concrete bearings and so that meetings and other forms of party discussion of problems provide in general the possibility of making an objective and substantive criticism and self-criticism and assessment of what has been accomplished and really strive for a creative, collective revelation of optimal approaches to the fulfillment of decisions and the exercise of control over them.

For the further raising of the work level of party organizations, individual work with communists is of major importance. We have accumulated useful experience on prevalence of the form of concrete party tasks, which are given to party members and candidates and the periodic hearing of accounts of their fulfillment. We are becoming convinced that the effectiveness of this method depends directly on how closely a given party task is connected to the solution of the chief tasks of the primary party organization, growth of activeness and prestige of communists and growth of party influence on the production collectives.

In accordance with the experience of fraternal parties generalized at a congress in Prague of secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of socialist countries engaged in questions of party organizational work, our party believes that the work level of primary organizations and their ability to solve set tasks depend to a significant degree on how they are managed by party organs and how they are helped to concentrate and direct their work to the solution of key questions. The steady rise of efficiency of all party work, especially of primary organization, is always at the center of attention, particularly of rayon party committees.

In guiding activity of party organs, we stress direct contacts with primary party organizations. We see to it that party apparatus personnel, especially the leaders, maintain constant contact with life, familiarizing themselves with the state of affairs locally and directly helping solve pressing problems locally. This position was formulated most clearly in the materials of the 16th CPCZ Congress: "Fewer directives, less red tape and more direct contacts with people--this is what we should be guided by in party work." This reflects the principle in accordance with which the strength of the Leninist style is to be found primarily in constant work with people. With this point of view in mind, we are conducting a radical struggle with formalism in party work. We are striving to see to it that party organs and organizations are not content solely with the discussion and adoption of decisions, the implementation of planned measures, restricting themselves to observations of bottlenecks and deficiencies. In our opinion, the chief criterion of the effectiveness of political organizational and ideological work should be everywhere the active and businesslike solution of problems, the end result.

Together with oblast CPCZ committees, we attentively analyze the efficacy of employed forms and methods of providing aid to primary party organizations. This is done to ensure the deepening and development of the entire system of party guidance, strengthening of its programmed character and integration in the accomplishment of tasks and strict demands on the results of the work of cadres. A positive factor is the fact that party organs are paying more attention to individual primary organizations. Members of elected guiding organs are scrutinizing their work on a wider scale. Their activities are examined at presidiums of rayon committees. Depending on the character of tasks, especially for securing the fulfillment of the most important decrees of the Central Committee, its representatives are sent to provide assistance to lower organs and party organizations. The Central Committee and lower party organs must thoroughly know how primary organizations and communists approach the realization of decisions, what problems they run across and how people work in this or that sector. This creates good conditions for the timely and systematic elimination of defects and the solution of set tasks.

High demands are being made on the work of primary party organizations. For this reason we attach much importance to having concrete supervision of primary organizations carried out in a differentiated manner in the multifaceted work of rayon party committees while taking into consideration the conditions of their work, the specificities of the problems on whose solution they are working. In this connection, we take into account that party committees and party

bureaus employ many young comrades who are gradually acquiring life and party experience and the necessary political training. Rayon committees are applying major efforts to encourage in every possible way independent creative activity on the part of primary organizations.

In solving these questions we strive to have the party aktiv understand the nature of deserving problems and see them in the entire breadth of internal and external connections and also deeply realize the necessity of all the measures aimed at the systematic realization of the party's general line. It is clear that the efficiency of primary organizations and general success in the work of the party in the implementation of the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress will depend directly on the accomplishment of this.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHAIRMAN TRAVNICEK DISCUSSES PEACE ASSEMBLY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 5, Apr 83 pp 123-130

[Article by Tomas Travnicek: "Through Joint Efforts of Peace Forces for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War"]

[Excerpt] On 6 March 1946, Winston Churchill made a speech in the American city of Fulton in which he attacked the Soviet Union and called for the formation of blocks against the USSR and popular democratic countries. For the first time, one could hear in his speech the ingloriously famous term "iron curtain." Imperialism moved the world further toward the reality of the "cold war."

All proposals made by the Soviet Union to continue the alliance and cooperation were being obstinately rejected by imperialist powers, including proposals to outlaw new destructive weapons. For a great many years, the Soviet Union and its allies had to fight before the relations among states with different social systems reached the road of peaceful coexistence, before the generally beneficial and in the interest of mankind the only possible policy of detente and cooperation could be enforced.

This was achieved first of all thanks to unrelenting efforts, and also to the growth, of the economic and military power of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, thanks to the fact that after the collapse of the colonial system there were created dozens of countries which developed independently. And much credit for it goes also to the persevering efforts of the national and worldwide peace movement organized on a mass scale. The World Peace Council has become the main representative of the movement.

The citizens of Czechoslovakia will be always proud of the fact that this significant organ (known in those days as the Committee of World Congress of Defenders of Peace) was set up at the First World Congress of Defenders of Peace, which was held on 20-25 April 1949 concurrently in Paris and Prague. A scientist of the foremost world statute, Frederic Joliot-Curie, a French nuclear physicist and holder of a Nobel Prize, was elected to preside at the congress. The committee was converted to the World Peace Council at the Second World Congress of Defenders of Peace held in Warsaw in November 1950.

Next to the policy of the USSR and of the entire socialist community, next to the efforts of the international communist and labor movement and of the struggle for national liberation, the credit goes to the organized peace movement due to the fact that the period of the "cold war" has been overcome and the policy of detente inaugurated in international relations. Thanks to these forces, and on the other hand thanks to the realistically thinking politicians of the capitalist states, the policy of detente has brought about a whole series of positive agreements which were beneficial to the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. This process culminated at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At its final session on 1 August 1975, the Final Act was signed at Helsinki by top representatives of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada.

Positive development of international relations, gradual relaxation of tension, continuous increase of security and cooperation in the world kept disturbing the most reactionary forces of imperialism, particularly those which are closely related to the military-industrial complex. That is why, especially after the Reagan government came to power in the United States, they started a sharp fight against detente, they intensified the process of armament to a degree unprecedented in peacetime, the development and production of new, increasingly more destructive weapons. At the same time, as has happened so many times in the past, it is the United States which always takes the first step in the development and introduction of qualitatively new generations of weapons systems, referring to the deliberately false argument of alleged Soviet superiority.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were forced as a result of this to adopt new measures, which were necessary for their defense, so that imperialism would not reach its goal of disturbing the existing balance of power and gaining military superiority over the world of socialism.

It is certainly not necessary to repeat routinely known facts about the nature of this armament, about the tremendous material and intellectual resources which it absorbs, about antihuman doctrines, by which imperialism acts on the consciousness of the nations of its countries, so that they would count on the possibility of a nuclear war. All this indicates that imperialism is determined to renew its hegemony over the world even at the cost of the dreadful risk of a nuclear war.

And so the world has really reached a situation which leading Soviet statesmen L. I. Brezhnev and J. V. Andropov described several times as a historical crossroad, at which it is being decided whether mankind will continue to follow the road of peace, peaceful coexistence and general development, or whether it will be forced to follow the road of war and nuclear self-destruction.

During all this critical period, we can observe and document specifically the way in which both the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community are striving to reverse this dangerous development by their consistent peaceful policy and continuously new constructive initiatives, and we can see how the United States and NATO countries systematically keep belittling and rejecting these proposals.

The entire imperialist policy of armament, militarization, aggression, and military preparation is accompanied by an intensive antisoviet and anti-communist propaganda campaign, by efforts to weaken and disrupt the unity of the countries of the socialist community. However, these efforts will always encounter determined resistance by the united forces of socialism. It is absolutely clear today that the Soviet Union and its allies are now more than ever before the mainstay of world peace.\*

The policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, as socialist countries led by the Soviet Union are enforcing it consistently in international relations, is gaining more and more active followers in the world. Indeed, after all, if any person wants to live his life in peace, regardless of the socioeconomic system of the country in which he lives, he must quite unequivocally raise his hand in favor of the proposals contained in the Political Declaration of the Member States of the Warsaw Pact, which was adopted in January of this year in Prague. After all, every peaceloving person must agree that it would help to bring about a clearly healthier international environment and to reduce substantially the danger of war if we could carry out successfully the efforts of many years of standing on the part of the socialist states to dissolve both of the largest military-political unions in the world, namely NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It would be a certain contribution to adopt at least one of the main proposals of the January declaration to sign an agreement between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries to mutually refrain from using military force and maintain peaceful relations.

The Soviet Union made last year a grandiose, unprecedented step toward peace, when it solemnly proclaimed a unilateral, unconditional, and immediately valid obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The whole world would breathe a sigh of relief if all the other nuclear powers took the same step.

Among the specific proposals full of initiative, as reflected in the Political Declaration, let us mention at least the proposal of a mutual freeze of strategic weapons by the USSR and the United States from the viewpoint of quantity and maximum restriction of their modernization, drafts of treaties concerning full and general prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons, prohibition and liquidation of chemical, neutron, and radiological weapons, initiation of negotiations concerning prohibition of placing any kind of weapons in space. What would have a tremendous positive portent would be adoption of a whole set of measures pertaining to the security of Europe. This would apply especially to a proposal to eliminate all medium range as well as tactical nuclear weapons from Europe. Simultaneously with this goal, the states of the Warsaw Pact are striving to develop and intensify active and beneficial cooperation by European states in all spheres of activity on the basis of equality and mutual advantages.

Indeed, there is no critical area, no place where there is a threat of war or an existing conflict, with regard to which the Declaration would not take

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\* See "THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU." Prague, Svoboda 1982, p 14.

a position and would not bring forward positive formulas designed to solve the problem. It is obvious at first sight that all the proposals and ideas contained in the Political Declaration of Member States of the Warsaw Pact represent the project of a complex, generally acceptable road to an arrangement of international relations which would not put anybody at a disadvantage and therefore would be quite practicable, an arrangement which would first of all prevent a nuclear war and would gradually eliminate the danger of wars from the life of human society altogether.

These proposals and ideas will also constitute a significant stimulus for deliberations of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which will be held in June of this year in Prague.

It was necessary to convoke this assembly because of the contemporary situation in the world. The imperialistic policy of armament and war preparations has led in the last few years to an unprecedented expansion and activation of the forces of peace over our entire planet. In addition to the existing peace movement, represented primarily by the World Peace Council, there has been created and continues to form a large number of new peace, anti-war, and disarmament movements, organizations, groups, and trends, which are acting with admirable energy and fighting spirit to organize all kinds of drives designed to save peace, to bring about disarmament, to prohibit nuclear weapons, and so on. They are very determined in the spontaneous drives, they call for a reversal in the policy of their political parties, parliaments, and governments.

It is symptomatic that the struggle for peace has developed rapidly especially in Western Europe, where it was prompted by U.S. and NATO plans to deploy new American medium-range rockets. What is also worth noticing is the peace movement in Scandinavian countries, where the main effort concentrates on declaring that region to be a zone free of nuclear weapons. In the metropolis of world imperialism itself, namely in the United States, a mass resistance to armament and especially to nuclear weapons is growing. One can say the same thing about Canada, Japan, and other countries. It is typical of these new peace movements and trends that their ranks include people of all kinds of political convictions or world outlooks, of all kinds of social groups and professions, religious affiliations. They include people of all age groups, a large number of them are represented by women and young people.

That is a highly positive phenomenon. The struggle against the danger of war can be successful only when communists, socialists, liberals, members of Christian-democratic parties, and people without party affiliation join their ranks. When they unite, regardless of the differences of their outlook, to reach a single noble goal of preventing war, preserving peace, making sure that mankind proceeds from that figurative crossroad and follows the road of peace, life, and development.

The peace movement has reached at present such dimensions that it truly represents the voice of entire nations, and that governments must take it into consideration, even in those countries where the ruling circles have

been ignoring them so far. This was characterized accurately by comrade Yuriy Andropov, when he said: "Nations are now coming to the main scenario of history, which is something that never happened before. They have won the right to speak with a voice which nobody will silence. By taking active and self-aware steps, they are able to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war, to defend peace and therefore also life on our earth."\*\*

An international preparatory committee was set up in Lisbon in November of last year to prepare this unusually significant event. For routine handling of the preparations, the committee created an international working group, which has already met twice in Geneva in the first months of this year. Its representative character is indicated by the fact that its February session was attended by more than 100 representatives of 71 international and national organizations. This session approved three basic documents for the preparation of the assembly in terms of its content: an appeal to the world public, and proposals of the program and procedural rules of the rally.

The appeal states that world peace is more and more endangered by feverish nuclear armament. At the same time, the year of 1983 is of decisive importance for all of mankind, especially because of the danger arising from the plan to deploy medium range missiles in the territory of Europe. The appeal urgently points out that if the threat of nuclear war is to be eliminated, negotiations held now in Geneva and elsewhere must show substantive progress. Feverish armament, which means increasingly greater waste of world resources, must be stopped and nuclear weapons prohibited. The appeal formulates a demand for effective, emphatic, and determined joint actions of the mass movement for peace, a demand that all movements for peace and disarmament, all groups and individuals regardless of their ideological, political, or religious conviction would unite in the common struggle. With regard to the mission of the Prague assembly, it says this: "Discussions can be held concerning all questions and problems for the purpose of dealing with the present tense and dangerous international situation. No differences of opinion should prevent us from taking a firm stand against destruction of the world's material and spiritual heritage."

The drafts of the content of the deliberations of the world assembly ensues from all the given facts. The basic discussion will be held in 11 groups, which will discuss the following global problems:

1. Danger of nuclear war, threat to life and ways to avert it.
2. European security and disarmament.
3. Armament races, how to stop them and reverse them.
4. Exchange of experience and views of peace movements to support disarmament.

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\*\* "To Secure Lasting Peace for the World--That Is an Unchangeable Goal of Soviet Policy." Address of Comrade Yuriy Andropov at a session of the CPSU Central Committee, RUDE PRAVO, 23 Nov 82, p 7.

5. The role of the United Nations Organization in questions of peace and disarmament, peaceful solution of conflicts.
6. Economic aspects of armament races and disarmament.
7. Development, armament races, disarmament, international economic cooperation.
8. Social, psychological and ethical aspects of armament races, war and disarmament.
9. The role of nonparticipation in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

10. Dangers of war and problems of the Near East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, including questions of national independence, based on the right of self-determination and justice.

11. Education for peace and prevention of war.

Special meetings will be dedicated to the subjects of Immorality of Nuclear War, and Illegality of Nuclear War.

A discussion in special interest groups of delegates should reach positive results. Those who will participate in this dialogue will be trade unionists, women, youth and students, educational workers, physicians, writers and artists, parliamentary deputies and other elected representatives, church representatives, jurists, scientific workers, journalists, sport representatives, former soldiers, cosmonauts, organizers and activists, in the social and economic area, entrepreneurs, and so on. The significance of the participation of women and young people in the worldwide peace movement is emphasized by the fact that a center for women and youth and student village will operate during the entire assembly. This enumeration alone indicates clearly that the rally will really provide broad opportunities for a dialogue, exchange of views, rapprochement of viewpoints, and achievement of a joint unity of action.

We consider it especially important that the international working group adopted in February in Geneva a proposal of the Czechoslovak Preparatory Committee to dedicate a whole day of the assembly to visits of foreign delegates to various places in the CSSR. The purpose of these visits will be to enable foreign participants to meet Czechoslovak citizens in cities and rural communities and at their places of work, to meet young people and students in schools. Some of these foreign visitors will be in a socialist country for the first time, others look at our republic through the false glasses of anticomunist propaganda. The purpose of the visits will be to enable them to speak openly with Czechoslovak citizens and to find out for themselves that the Czechoslovak people consider the struggle to maintain peace to be their primary moral obligation, that they are determined to do everything in their power to help defend peace, that our entire homeland literally embodies through the life and work of its citizens the words that socialism and peace are inseparable.

The world movement for peace, for disarmament, against war preparations, is objectively part of the great struggle which is taking place in the world between the forces of peace and war, between the forces of social progress and reaction.

The peace and anti-war movement is aroused today to an exceptional degree by theories and statements of leading representatives of imperialist states about "limited" nuclear war, about the right to carry out a "preventive" nuclear strike, or the "possibility of winning" a nuclear war. Quite naturally, the most reactionary forces of imperialism are hampered by any international detente, the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is in conflict with the interests of imperialism. They see efforts to bring about equality and mutually beneficial cooperation of people as dangerous to their plans for world domination.

That is why imperialist propaganda is trying to discredit the world movement for peace, divide it, turn it against the USSR and other socialist countries.

In doing that, it uses arguments such as that the peace movement is an extended hand of Moscow, that the peace movement in socialist countries is financed by the state, that in socialist countries only all kinds of groups in opposition to the government, dissident groups, and so on can be the true fighters for peace.

The present target of this false propaganda is mainly the Prague world assembly. It is our primary duty to fight this propaganda with all our forces. We can counter its lies with the truth of arguments provided to us literally by events of everyday life. Indeed, are those British women who so courageously and with so much determination keep a peace camp in front of the American air base in Greenham Common Moscow agents? Is the American movement for the freeze of nuclear weapons financed by the Soviet Union? Are the mass protest demonstrations for peace and against war, which daily characterize life in the streets of big cities in the West, organized by Soviet, Czechoslovak, or Bulgarian communists?

As to the fabrication that the peace movement and therefore also the world assembly in Czechoslovakia are financed by our state, our people have given an unequivocal answer to it by developing their activity and collective involvement in favor of the Peace and Solidarity Fund of the CSSR National Front. The response to the appeal of the Czechoslovak Preparatory Committee, of the central committee of the CSSR National Front, of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee to support the fund is such that its resources obtained through voluntary contributions of our citizens will be sufficient to pay fully for the costs of attendance of foreign delegates at the assembly, and these delegates will truly be guests of the Czechoslovak people.

The Czechoslovak delegates will also fulfill their mission at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, in harmony with the deep feeling of our people for peace, in harmony with the basic policy of peace

and peaceful coexistence pursued by our socialist state. They will base their actions on the fine thoughts contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Member States, on thoughts which are acceptable to every person who deeply desires to live in a peaceful world.

At the same time, at each step they will bear in mind the words pronounced by comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th Congress of the CPCZ: "We shall strive to put in effect all peace initiatives worked out and enforced jointly by socialist countries, initiatives which demonstrate before the whole world that socialism is a decisive force in the struggle of nations for peace and international security."\*

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\*("The 16th Congress of the CPCZ" Prague Svoboda 1981, p 52).

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Various Szczecin Views About PRON

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 1, 2, 3, 4 Apr 83 p 3

[Introduction by Halina Ostrowska; article by Jolanta Frydrykiewicz: "PRON: Aspects of New Unity"]

[Text] Two fundamental truths issue forth from the experiences of 1980-1981: that as a society we are very divided in our outlook on that which is good for Poland and unanimous, in spite of everything, in our desire to improve our lives.

This is the kind of task which the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is presenting itself. It is an extremely difficult task, in view of the fact that nearly every individual has his own solution for improving the republic. But is this really so bad? After all, the more diversified the outlook and the more scattered the vision of Poland's future, the greater the chance for finding the best solutions. Because the chance for the release of the best concepts of national rebirth lies not in outward unanimity, which in fact masks indifference and apathy, but in the conflict of opposing arguments.

That is why, it is perhaps better for PRON not to be a movement for everyone but to have it bring together those who really have something to say and who have definite views as well as the energy to effect their own solutions and who at the same time are ready to submit to constructive criticism and to yield if they become convinced of the fact that other proposals, other values and other types of solutions are more realistic and practical.

Lately, the statement can often be heard that there has been enough talk and now it is time to act. However, one does not preclude the other. But with the differences of opinion which exist in our society, it is first necessary to determine what, how and why should be done and "why" it seems to be the most important thing to do. Therefore, it is necessary to rationally establish the determining factors of action to be taken not in unproductive

controversy but in controversy among intelligent people who are skilled in the art of carrying on dialogue and confrontations of various opinions. This is represented by the ability to present one's own opinions as well as listening to the arguments of the "opponent."

After all, this is not easy. Our political culture leaves much to be desired. We have had so many instances where either there were only discussions in which emotions dominated over thinking or instances where silence took the place of discussion since each side would become adamant in its viewpoint preferring hostility to an attempt at reaching an understanding.

There is great psychological resistance, which exists today, in the awareness of many toward establishing dialogue with those who think differently. This resistance is the result of not only a reluctant attitude toward such people but also that of disbelief that it is possible to change anything in our country.

And yet, surely silence or a wait-and-see policy will not change anything. Those who are not present relinquish the right to voice opinions as the old saying goes. Life will go on without them and even in spite of them. And then, instead of tearing one's hair out because of "what they are up to," it is surely better to try to think up something sensible with "them" which would benefit everyone. The only thing is that it is difficult to overcome one's reluctance toward "them." However, it is worth trying because, after all, a common cause is at stake--Poland.

At first, there was a still weak, unspecified and timid movement from the bottom with a quiet motto: "let us try to do something." This was a particularly unpopular call in an extremely weary society. For this reason, it brought together idealists and altruists, those who always "rise in need." They modestly called themselves citizens' committees for national rebirth.

What ought to be done, what can be done, to what extent and how decisively--all of this remained within the realm of trials. On the basis of the teachers' committee in Szczecin and the body of the Provisional Voivodship PRON Council, which is one rung higher than the basic elements of the said OKON [Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth], it started becoming clear that all that which is an expression of social concern for the progress of public issues is honored by the authorities and by the administrative offices.

The discussions at the meetings were not, are not and, let us hope will not be a contradiction of the concept of "discussions" because all those who have something to say are of exactly the same opinion. Poignant, sensible statements on school matters, for example as well as the rapid "entrance" of youth from rural organizations into TRK PRON [Provisional National Council of PRON] indicate that there are no forbidden issues for social expression.

The concern of the PRON Congress over that which dominated the deliberations of the first representatives of the movement was concentrated on overcoming mistrust in regard to the new outgrowth in our country.

Another facade? A group of career hustlers? People who have been "set up?"

It was explained that what this concerns is the level of cooperation among people of varying outlooks in the name of only one cause: the good of Poland by overcoming helplessness, indifference and unwillingness which paralyze society in its decline into passivity. If everyone were convinced of that and would voluntarily make efforts to improve and clear up the situation--it would be all too simple. This movement is taking shape not under hothouse conditions but within the process of clashing outlooks and actions with the purpose in mind of concentrating on the most important goal: the nation's future.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is continually in the process of developing but as far as the extent to which it will be resilient and authoritative will depend on who will join it and how willing he or she will be to undertake social action.

The work done until now by the Provisional National Council of PRON, which was appointed at the First Congress, brought about two fundamental documents: the PRON Declaration and its Statutory Principles. It is important to know what is contained in them because:

#### A New Institution Is Forming in the Political Life of Poland

The first part of the declaration comes from the "PRON Register": "The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is the answer to the social need and desire for renewal, national accord and the democratic reform of the Republic. It creates the political possibility of action by all those citizens who wish to improve and strengthen the sovereign, independent, socialist Polish state within safe borders which is the basic condition for the implementation of our goals."

The following issues, which pertain to the evaluation of the state of the state, are listed in the first part of the declaration: the crisis is the "outcome of a conflict between the principles of socialism and the way in which they are implemented and in particular, between the growing aspirations of working people toward participation in public matters as well as their desire to influence the enforcing of authority, and the centrally-bureaucratic methods of its implementation; between the deeply-felt material needs of the public and the economy's ability to satisfy them; between the socialist principles of civil equality and the limiting of participation as well as advancement in public life of nonparty citizens including believers and between the interests of respective social classes, groups and factions."

However, for the sake of honesty and clarity, the following is also being said: "The sources of the crisis did not lie solely in the ways in which authority was enforced. They were and continue to be represented by negative social phenomena: the lack of understanding of the nation's needs; the lack of adequate concern over building up the nation's strength, over its interests and reason of state; the low level of professional ethics and the lack of regard for work; the lack of respect for common and personal property; the persistent occurrence of social plagues: crime, corruption, alcoholism, drug

addiction and the poor results obtained in combatting these problems as well as widespread areas of social indifference."

#### A Diagnosis Has Been Made

As we can see, its [diagnosis] purpose is not to make ingratiating gestures toward the authorities or toward society as a whole. That which is generally known but which is often not called by name is contained in the foundations of PRON.

This part [of the declaration] is elaborated in the section entitled: "The Ideological Principles of the Movement" in which the primary values are described as: "social justice, true democracy, law and order as well as a sense of civic responsibility, regard for human dignity and tolerance of different outlooks, as well as dialogue and understanding as methods of eliminating a divergence of purpose and interests as well as respect for work and its fruits."

Subsequent sections specify the "Essence of the Movement" and its "place in the political system." The latter is particularly important because it is necessary to know how this new body, which is political in nature and which is being formed from the foundations, is to function within our country's internal system.

"PRON is emerging and developing as a lasting value of the socialist political system in Poland."

"The following constitute the basis for cooperation among all PRON participants: voluntary membership in the movement, partnership and therefore equal rights of every participant, mutual respect for distinct and different world outlooks."

"We are an opinionmaking body which bases its cooperation on the principles of partnership with state organizations, parties, self-governments and social organizations. In this sense, our movement acts as organized public opinion."

"However, our role does not come to the recording of social views. We aim for their codevelopment. We want to exert an influence both on the attitudes of those who enforce authority as well as on social attitudes."

Further explanations concern the openness of opinions and directing them toward political circles as well as toward representative bodies. In regard to the latter, PRON intends to use its influence for the appointment of candidates as envoys and councillors, from the point of view of concern for the democratic character of the elections and the proper selection of candidates who should be represented by citizens worthy of the utmost trust and representing the will of the largest social classes. PRON also intends to make it easier for electors to evaluate envoys and councillors from the point of view of the compatibility of their activity with the responsibilities involving the implementation of election programs which were placed on them during the course of the election campaign.

## Directions of Activity

There are many of them and one can safely say that they create the opportunity to carry on activity for all those who wish to do something for the improvement of the internal mechanisms which regulate the life of the country.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth assumes as its task the democratization of the methods of enforcing authority, the creation of social premises for the democratization of public life, increasing the influence over the activity of state organs, the preparation and carrying out of elections to representative bodies, organizing and expressing of public opinion, creating conditions for dialogue and understanding, expanding the social base of governing and administering as well as activity on behalf of the moral and civic rebirth of the nation.

Such an area designated for civic commitment and activity can and should attract every concerned citizen to the structure and nature of our reality. This movement, as we have already mentioned, is just beginning to form and its strength will be the political work of PRON members.

It is not easy in our society to instill a different model of patriotism than the one in which generations were raised for several hundred years and whose justified motto was: "armed action." The demand of today's world and today's reality point to the need for improving, strengthening and civilizing the nation with all of its institutions. The economic downfall determines to a certain extent a collapse in other areas of life as well.

Clear-cut criteria and simple truths can and should be restored. All that which contributed to the August workers' protest should be cleared up everywhere. This requires a sense of ideology and strength. That is why the creators of PRON are placing their hope in youth.

## Youth

They are placing their hope in young people who have not as yet become rigid in the existing forms. There is feedback, which determines the welfare of the country and through this the welfare of the youngest generations of this youth--attested to by the undertaking of public services by youth. We shall not call this "chance" because chance is an occurrence which may take place and perhaps never repeat itself. This is not chance but a currently initiated practice which is to be a cocreator of our future. In PRON there is room for young workers, for educators, office workers, students, physicians, engineers and skilled workers. A round table is provided so that around it, conditions can be created for the building of a modern socialist country.

The caution with which the young accept this newly developing institution of internal life can be overcome with the reminder that "those not present have nothing to say." After all, young people have a lot to say.

That is why, it is so vital that they find themselves on the forum on which there is room for their healthy ambition of participating in the shaping of the

country's future. Without resigning from the voice of experienced people and without separating its members into age groups, PRON is awaiting the accession of the young. They should represent various social communities but based on one criterion: their stature in the place of employment, at school and everywhere their activities take them in daily life.

Roads which were blocked by mistrust should be cleared anew. This ought to be done with a goal in mind which is the good of our nation and follow these roads in the name of the future.

#### Kielce Province PRON Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (bem, jeh): "Movement of Opportunity and Hope"]

[Text] The deliberations of the voivodship precongress conference of PRON began yesterday in Kielce with the playing of the national anthem. The chairman of the Voivodship Provisional PRON Council, Prof Henryk Jurkiewicz greeted the conference guests: member of the Presidium and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, vice-chairman of the Provisional National Council [TRK] of PRON, Jerzy Graybczak; member of the CC and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW PZPR] in Kielce, Maciej Lubczynski; the president of WK ZSL [Voivodship Committee of the United Peasant Party], Czeslaw Kozak; the chairman of WK SD [Voivodship Committee of the Democratic Party], Krzysztof Zareba; the chairman of WK FJN [National Unity Front Voivodship Committee], Zygmunt Piotrowski; chairman of WRN [Voivodship People's Council], Ryszard Zbrog; the governor, Wladzimierz Pasternak and the KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary, Col Stanislaw Iwanski.

The conference summed up the many months' activity of the movement's activists in our voivodship, formulated the final recommendations for the draft of the ideological-program declaration and that of the statute and it also chose delegates to the First National PRON Congress.

A lecture-paper was presented by the chairman of WTR [Voivodship Provisional Council], Prof Henryk Jurkiewicz. The speaker pointed out that the conference participants representing various communities, convictions, views and occupations are united in the concept of patriotism which dictates to heed the call when the homeland is in need and to actively defend its national interests as well as those of its political system in a way in which one always would defend matters of paramount importance. The national rebirth movement in the Kielce region sprang up as one of the first in the country. This was not a chance occurrence. The Kielce region is famous for an especially rich tradition of patriotism. National history has recorded some great names from among the inhabitants of this region. Here the hard battles of the November [1830-1831] and January [1863-1864] uprisings were fought. At the beginning of the 20th century, the working classes of Ostrowiec, Skarzysko, Stalowa, Kielce and Konskie wrote their 100 years' of history with battles. During the last war, the partisan divisions from various units fought their historical battles on Kielce soil.

Presently, there are 260 OKON [Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth] and PRON elements including: 4 municipal, 13 municipal-gmina, 56 gmina, 17 district, 18 in institutions, 32 rural, 35 housing community, 86 plant and 8 school elements. In the precongress discussion, the ideological-program assumptions of PRON within these elements were discussed and especially the idea of national accord and understanding as well as the methods for the further expansion of the movement's social base. It was stressed that the movement ought to function more effectively for the dissemination and intensification of political culture in society as well as for the raising of the level of political awareness of citizens. The precongress discussion also did not overlook local problems and grievances such as the functioning of commerce and services, the housing and municipal economy, supplying agriculture with water and the means for agricultural production, the quality of regional work carried out by the administration as well as the problems of social pathology and in particular, alcoholism. The activists from the Kielce region prepared themselves for the First National PRON Congress with actions and work.

Seventeen persons took part in the discussion: Leokadia Piotrowicz, Romuald Dietrych, Urszula Krzyszton, Jozef Slowik, Zygmunt Pachota, Zygmunt Daszkiewicz, Jerzy Osmolski, Jozef Winiarski, Krzysztof Zareba, Andrzej Letkowski, Leon Pajak, Bozena Skrzeczyna, Tadeusz Zawistowski, Jaroslaw Walczak, Jerzy Szmaidel, Maciej Lubczynski and Jerzy Grzybczak.

The common element of all the presentations was the view that PRON can and should serve effectively national understanding, accord and rebirth. Women, members of LKP [League of Polish Women] circles, were also well represented in the discussion. They want to bring not only the power of organizational unity to the patriotic movement but also skill in mitigating any and all divisions which may occur. The role of mothers, who wish to work and raise their children peacefully, is extremely important.

In statements made concerning the role and future of PRON it was pointed out, among other things, that it must be a constant and free of bureaucracy form of presenting various programs and proposals but also one which would assure conditions for the exchange of various ideas, views and convictions. Therefore, PRON ought to be an opinionmaking body and an independent consultant which integrates society. It should also not only control but also support the valid actions of the authorities. In its activity and in view of the experience flowing from history, PRON must pass from patriotism of the heart to patriotism of action in order to translate that which we are experiencing today into a language of creative and unselfish work which is so greatly needed now.

There are not enough young people in the movement. They can only be attracted into the movement by sincerity of intent and real activity. There are many members of ZSMP in PRON. They were the initiators of its chapters in work establishments. The developing movement gained many followers among the activists of the Democratic Party whose patriotic traditions are one of the components of PRON geneology. An example of integration and unity is ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] even though the roads taken by

and concepts of its members about the country were varied. And yet, they channelled their personal ambitions into a primary goal which was and is the good of the homeland.

In taking the floor, the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Maciej Lubczynski, stated: "Today, despite the opinions of opponents, who felt that accord with the party or outside of the party is impossible, we are witnessing nationwide dialogue because PRON is becoming a forum for discussion by all citizens who believe in compromise and who want to join in the solving of problems which burden our society."

Jerzy Grzybczak, TRK vice-chairman, also referred to PRON goals: "History proves that during difficult times, Poles were capable of reaching an understanding. These ideals and convictions shone on the signatories when they were in the process of initiating the formation of PRON. This movement casts aside all that which was wrong and superficial in the FJN while taking over its good experiences and broadens their scope with new substance in keeping with the times and social expectations."

The conference participants selected 5 candidates for the future National PRON Council. The Kielce region is to be represented by: Prof Henryk Jurkiewicz, nonparty member and rector of WSP [College of Education]; nonparty member and chairman of ZW ZBoWiD [Voivodship Administration of ZBoWiD], Leon Pajak; Krzysztof Orkisz, SD activist; Zygmunt Palka, ZSMP activist and member of PZPR as well as Zygmunt Kopec, farmer and ZSL member.

The next 18 delegates to the PRON congress were also selected. They are: Jozef Knapik, chairman of the "PAX" Association--Kielce branch; Barbara Niechcial, employee of "Rekord" in Jedrzejow; Danuta Lesisz, farmer from Zagnansk; Stanislaw Rogala, locksmith from Predom-Mesko [Metal Works] in Skarzysk; Wladyslaw Makuch, farmer from the rural parish of Koszyce; Edward Molenda, worker from Chemar Industrial Fittings and Chemical Equipment Works; Zygmunt Mroz, farmer from Wodzislawie; Docent Zdzislaw Trylski, scientific employee of PS [Municipal Enterprise]; Ewa Drozdzal, ZHP activist; Bronislaw Zapala, editor-in-chief of SLOWA LUDU; Zbigniew Wojcikiewicz, foreman from Polmo-SHL; Waldemar Blachut, electrician from ZCW Nowiny; Janusz Lech, foreman from the Polish State Railroads [PKP] Junction in Kielce; Jan Kurpinski, farmer from the rural parish of Olesnica; Regina Jablonska, farmer from the rural parish of Brody; Zdzislaw Ozdzynski, employee at the Factory of Agricultural Machinery in Kunowa; Anna Reinsteine, pharmacist from Stopnica and Zdzislaw Bunk, social activist from the region of Starachowice.

#### Biala Podlaska, Lublin PRON Activities

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sna): "With Social Issues and the Homeland in Mind"]

[Text] (Own Source) The programs-election campaign is continuing in PRON. The voivodship congress of PRON took place yesterday in Biala Podlaska. It summed up the

activity up to the present time of the movement in Biala Podlaska Voivodship and held elections of voivodship PRON authorities and delegates to the national congress. The Voivodship PRON Council also deliberated yesterday in Lublin. It summed up the programs-election campaign in this voivodship. An account of the deliberations follows.

#### Voivodship PRON Congress in Biala Podlaska

The voivodship PRON congress deliberated in Biala Podlaska under the banner of: "Thoughts and actions of all Poles for the good of the homeland." Katarzyna Gaertner, member of the Provisional PRON Council participated in the congress. Also present were the following representatives of the voivodship party-administrative authorities: secretary of KW PZPR, Stanislaw Nowak; secretary of WK ZSL Henryk Rakowski; secretary of WK DS, Henryk Dzarkowski; the governor, Stanislaw Rapa; as well as the KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary, Col Kazimierz Chodelski.

The program's paper-lecture was given by the chairman of the Provisional Voivodship PRON Council, Erazm Wasilewski. He stressed that the citizens' movement for national rebirth originated as a result of patriotic thoughts and social initiatives and has become, so to say, the social consequence of unsuccessful attempts at building a front of national salvation and accord during the period preceding 13 December 1981. From the initiatives of both party and nonparty social activists and following the introduction of martial law, citizens' committees for national salvation and accord began to form in the entire country and as early as in the second half of December [1981] in the voivodship of Biala-Podlaska. Their purpose was to undertake the difficult task of pulling the country out from the pit of the crisis through joint activity which would include solving large as well as small problems and restoring public faith in the purposefulness of collective activity to assure conditions for the complete normalization of life in the country and the continuation of socioeconomic reforms. The citizens' committees for national salvation and accord in the Podlasie region took it upon themselves to, above all, find solutions to many economic problems relating to supply inadequacies, housing construction, the activity of community committees, public health and preventive problems, transportation, occurrences of social pathology, speculative business practices, inefficiency and economic abuse, the lack of discipline as well as other plagues which are acutely felt by society.

As a result of rank and file initiatives, the Provisional Voivodship Consultative Council of Citizens' Committees for National Salvation and Accord came into being in Biala Podlaska on 24 June 1982. This organization began its activity with the purpose of coordinating autonomic OKON undertakings and facilitating cooperation with the voivodship authorities in solving difficult matters. In July of last year, the name of the patriotic movement was standardized in the country and as everywhere else, a Provisional Voivodship PRON Council was formed in Biala Podlaska as well.

In the course of the programs-elections campaign conducted within PRON elements, the significance of the new draft plan of the declaration and of

statutory principles was stressed with particular emphasis on the progressive theme of these documents. Irrespective of this, many proposals and recommendations were submitted which supplement or criticize the respective sections of the declaration.

In addition, during the course of the campaign, the rather small role played by PRON as a social force was pointed out as well as its continually weak effect on the elimination of acute shortcomings in daily life.

Also discussed were interhuman relationship in work establishments and in the community where one lives; bias among employees of regional state administrative organs and the bureaucratic work style in government offices. Living conditions in certain communities, among others, those of the elderly and of large families were also reviewed. In his concluding remarks, Erazm Wasilewski stated that by mobilizing social activity and serving the building of real social and moral bonds, PRON contributes enormously to the strengthening of the normal functioning of the state and thereby codeveloping sociopolitical and economic conditions for the gradual and complete return of stability to work and to life in our country.

The next person to speak was the governor of Biala Podlaska, Stanislaw Rapa, who presented the programs assumptions for the voivodship's socioeconomic development for 1983-1985.

The following took part in the discussion: Witold Piasecki, activist in the PRON Gmina Council of Janow Podlaski; Col Teodor Wolinski, deputy chief of WSzW [Provincial Military Staff Headquarters]; Stanislaw Romaniuk, deputy chairman of the Municipal-Gmina TR PRON [PRON Provisional Council] in Parczew; Eugeniusz Sztajer, ChSS [Christian Social Association] representative; Wladyslaw Korszen, farmer from the rural gmina of Komarowka Podlaska; Tadeusz Cybulski, ChSS representative; Jozefa Dragan, chairwoman of ZW LKP [Voivodship Administration of Polish League of Women]; Walentyna Romaniuk, teacher from Losice; Stanislaw Nowak, secretary of KW PZPR; Wladyslaw Szewczuk, activist from the Spolem cooperative; Antoni Radzikowski, activist in the Gmina PRON Council in Kornica; Jan Chmielowski, chairman of the Municipal PRON Council in Miedzyrzecze Podlaskie and Jozef Dziedzina, chairman of the Polish Catholic-Social Association.

In the discussion it was stressed that in their activity, the members of the movement should be guided by goals for the good of society as a whole. Particularism should be combatted for the good of solving matters with a broader significance on a voivodship scale. Regard for work was discussed including the proper fulfillment of responsibilities at every work level. The draft of the declaration of the movement for national rebirth as a guideline for activity, was met with the approval of the discussants.

It was stated in the discussion that in our social life, room should be made for sincerity and understanding. We are the children of the same mother--the motherland of Poles. A mother should be loved in poverty and in misery. We alone must put order into our homeland although we should not scorn the good advice of friends. Bureaucracy in offices and institutions has been criticized

and appeals have been made for improvement of the work style in these units of state administration since it is often said that the authorities are malfunctioning and yet, we ourselves are not fulfilling our responsibilities well.

Issues concerning environmental protection were raised by the discussants. Particular concern was expressed in regard to the need for focusing greater attention on neatness, law and order in the capital of the voivodship.

The need for responsibility for the spoken as well as written word was greatly stressed.

The course of the discussion revealed concern for the proper upbringing of the young generation in accordance with ideals. The Movement for National Rebirth, it was stated, is a movement which cannot remain passive when the situation requires involvement. When solving social problems, PRON activists must be guided by the good of the whole.

The congress selected a 151-member Voivodship PRON Council. The Presidium Council was appointed with Erazm Wasilewski as chairman.

At the conclusion of deliberations, the congress participants passed a resolution which specified the directions of activity of the Voivodship PRON Council.

#### Delegates From the Voivodship of Biala-Podlaska to the First National PRON Congress

During the course of deliberations of the Voivodship PRON Congress in Biala Podlaska, delegates to the national PRON Congress were chosen. They are: Jozef Dzedzina, PZKS activist from Biala Podlaska; Urszula Demczuk, retiree and chairwoman of the Biala Podlaska residents self-government committee; Mikolaj Jaroszuk, worker from ZREMB in Miedzyrzecze; Tomasz Klimanski, ChSS activist from Biala Podlaska; Stanislawa Kirsch, teacher and vice-president of PRON Council City Group [MG Rady PRON] in Radzyn Podlaski; Stanislaw Marczuk, chairman of WRN; Adolf Mironiuk, teacher and social-cultural activist from Biala Podlaska; Witold Piasecki, pharmacist and chairman of the PRON Gmina Council in Janow Podlaski; Mieczyslaw Romaniuk, teacher at the in-plant school in Malaszewicze; Lidia Sidor, PAX activist from Biala Podlaska; Stanislaw Trubaj, farmer from Przewloki, gmina of Parczew; Col Teodor Wolinski, LWP [Polish People's Army] officer; Jadwiga Szolucha, member of TRK PRON and worker at ZPW [Textile Plants] Biawena.

At the voivodship congress, the delegates also chose representatives from the Biala-Podlaska voivodship as permanent members of the PRON national governing authorities: Urszula Demczuk from Biala Podlaska; Tadeusz Boguszewski, farmer from the village of Koscieniewicze and Erazm Wasilewski, chairman of RW [Voivodship Committee] PRON in Biala Podlaska.

#### Plenary Session of Voivodship PRON Council in Lublin

The Provisional Voivodship PRON Council deliberated yesterday at the plenary session in Lublin. The deliberations, in which the vice-chairman of the

Provisional National PRON Council, Augustyn Kogut from Poznan, participated, were led by the chairman of the Lublin Voivodship PRON Council, Stanislaw Rostworowski. Delegates to the national congress, who were chosen during regional conferences in Lublin Voivodship, also took part in the deliberations.

The Council summed up the programs-elections campaign to date in Lublin Voivodship.

It was determined at the plenum that the moving force behind the broad and enlivened discussion in all the elements and structures of the movement were the numerous remarks and recommendations which were submitted to the presidium of TRK PRON. The draft plan of the ideological-programs declaration and that of the statutory principles was accepted favorably and with approval. It was recognized unanimously that these documents form an outline for extensive discussions, for the exchange of ideas for accord, for national unity and for the creation of an atmosphere of good work.

Presently, it is not a question of slogans no matter how inspiring but of real activity and actions which will demonstrate that things are improving. A condition for national accord is respect for human dignity as well as tolerance. This was expressed in the remarks and discussions during regional conferences.

The majority of the discussants were in favor of a movement with a rather loose organizational bond. This group of people is against too much "organization" in the movement. They do not want it to become too formalized.

The programs-elections campaign in PRON also revealed a great deal of doubts and controversy. For example, there was uncertainty as to whether the signers of the declaration from July of last year would decide about matters concerning movement or whether the proper PRON organs would assume this role. The discussions to date also contained numerous voices demanding a more open and clear definition of the participation of nonparty members in the fulfillment of authority.

As far as the position of the movement for national rebirth in our political system is concerned the major proposals tend in the direction of a proper entry in the constitution of PRL and the according of an appropriate rank to PRON. It is also proposed that PRON be accorded such political system attributes as: resolutionmaking and legislative initiative, the right to appoint candidates for councils and the Sejm as well as the giving of opinions on the activity of councillors and envoys.

Approximately 10,000 persons have submitted their membership to PRON in Lublin Voivodship. This includes representatives of all professions and social groups as well as party and nonparty members, the faithful and nonbelievers as well. At the upcoming First National PRON Congress, 38 delegates will represent the voivodship. These delegates were chosen through a democratic process during the regional conferences. In addition, 11 representatives from Lublin who are in the current Provisional National PRON Council will participate in the deliberations of the congress.

In a secret ballot, the plenum elected 5 candidates for the future National PRON Council. They are as follows: Paweł Dabek, Czesław Dabrowski, Czesława Górska, Henryk Groszyk and Stanisław Rostworowski.

#### A Word About Deliberations of Voivodship PRON Conference in Chelm

In reference to the information given in the Monday edition of SZTANDAR LUDU about delegates to the First National PRON Congress from Chelm Voivodship, we would like to inform that the members of the Provisional National PRON Council will also participate in the congress: Henryk Dabrowski, farmer and nonparty member from the gmina of Zmudz; Danuta Siarnik, worker and nonparty member from Chelm Footwear Enterprises and member of ZSMP, and Jan Kociuba, chairman of TRW PRON in Chelm. Thus, a total of 12 delegates will represent Chelm Voivodship at the First National PRON Congress.

In addition we would like to inform that at the voivodship PRON conference, Józef Oleksa, retiree, secretary of TRW PRON and SD member was chosen as a delegate and not, as we had mistakenly reported, Józef Oleczuk from Dorohusko. We sincerely apologize to those concerned.

#### Opole Province PRON Congress

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish, 12 Apr 83 pp 1, 2, 3

[Article by R. Augustyn and J. Szczupal; photographs by T. Kwasniewski]

[Text] For the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the Opole region, which is constantly gaining increasing support, yesterday--11 April 1983--will undoubtedly be an important date in its history to date because a certain, important phase was closed for the organizational strengthening of this movement as well as for designating further goals for its activity.

A total of 246 delegates arrived at the conference hall of the voivodship bureau. These delegates represented the regional elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth from the entire voivodship; their aim being to make a summary of the first stage of the precongress campaign during the course of the first voivodship PRON congress as well as to formulate the recommendations and remarks in regard to two basic documents: the draft plan of the declaration and of the statutory principles as well as to choose delegates to the highest national forum of the movement--the National Congress and to select its representatives for the National PRON Council.

Representatives from all professional and social communities of the Opole region congregated in a tightly filled hall including political party members and nonparty members, people with differing outlooks and belonging to different generations, the young and those with greying hair. The following were among the invited guests: the first secretary of KW PZPR in Opole, Eugeniusz Mroz; the president of WK ZSL, Józef Niewinski; chairman of WK SD, Stanisław Suchodolski; chairman of ZO PAX [District Administration of PAX], Benedykt

Brzeczek; chairman of ZO ChSS [District Administration of the Christian Social Association]; Rajmund Klepacz PZKS [Polish Catholic Social Union] representative, Maria Wojkiewicz; chairman of WRN in Opole, Mieczyslaw Rzepiela; deputy governor of Opole, Andrzej Zydek, as well as the plenipotentiary for the National Defense Committee, Col Henryk Tomaszewski. Envoys to the Sejm from Opole also took part in the deliberations as did representatives from ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], and from youth as well as women's organizations. The Provisional National PRON Council was represented by its Presidium member, Wieslaw Nowicki.

After the opening of the deliberations, those gathered honored with a minute of silence the memory of well-known activists from the Opole region who passed away recently: Ryszard Hajduk and Karol Musiol.

"Understanding must become a state of awareness of all of society"--this is the most important thesis from the paper read by the chairwoman of TRW PRON, Dr Maria Nowakowska.

After the lecture, a long, heated and at times polemical discussion began which raised nearly every problem of public life and in which 28 delegates and invited guests participated. The issues raised in the discussion concerned community and local problems which are so difficult to solve as well as general issues.

#### Stanislaw Balaj

Stanislaw Balaj took a stand on certain issues contained in the draft plan of the PRON declaration. It is true, he stated, that in our society there exist many negative phenomena. However, they are not the cause of the crisis as it would seem from what the declaration implies. These negative phenomena are the result of the normal downfall of those who have led to the crisis. This is the consequence of, among other things, upbringing and educational policies. For years teachers were at the bottom of the scale in terms of living conditions and again there is talk about reducing the Teachers Charter to conform with crisis conditions. If this is the way it has to be then so be it. However, let us not forget that not only is the material situation of the profession neglected but the educational base in many rural communities and small towns is also in a pitiful state. The cultural base does not look much better. "I feel," the speaker stated, "that education and culture should be given special consideration in PRON as fields which have a crucial influence on the country's future."

He also spoke in favor of beginning a discussion as soon as possible on the subject of future elections to the Sejm and to the national councils in order to determine the type of electoral law which would correspond to the aspirations and political level of the citizens.

#### Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz

The name of our movement obligates us to channel our thoughts and actions into one common goal--that of giving new life to Poland and to Poles. Our actions, he stated, cannot be forced by the need of the moment but must be

measured in terms of the future. Therefore, we must seek not that which divides us but that which unites us. And that which unites us is patriotism and our common heritage, of which we are reminded, for example, in the coat-of-arms of the city of Opole which bears a cross symbolizing the struggle with evil--a remaining legacy from our forefathers. What also remains are Polish truths which were justly brought up in the lecture and whose further dissemination and observance should strengthen the traditional view of the inhabitants of the Opole region that they are known for their piety, their willingness to work hard and their patriotism.

The speaker also mentioned that the approaching visit by the head of the Catholic church which will also include St Anne's Mountain, represents a great opportunity for the cause of understanding among Poles.

#### Wlodzimierz Kotowski

The concepts presented by PRON do not, in principle, give rise to any objections. On the other hand, we often lack practical examples and formulas for the implementation of PRON concepts in our communities. "I believe," said the speaker, "that the crux of the problem lies in the incompetence with which problems are divided into those which are to be directed to the central authorities for solution and those which we can solve ourselves. We devote too much social energy to postulating; i.e. flaunting our incompetence.

"In our institute, we are trying to, for example, convince young workers that just waiting for an apartment from the state is unrealistic. We have undertaken together with trade unions the initiative of building privately owned rowhouses. Young workers will be able to earn the money for the homes by taking on additional work in the low-tonnage production of chemicals which are needed in the country. They can be manufactured with idle appliances gathered from many plants. Last year such additional production reached a value of over 300 million in the ICSC [Institute of Heavy Organic Synthesis]. Thus, the amounts are not trivial. Therefore, is it not the lack of initiative wherein often lie our problems, in overcoming the crisis?"

Prof Kotowski also presented the information that after tests were conducted on the pollution of the atmosphere of the Kedzierzyn-Kozle region, it was determined that it is possible to reduce by approximately 20 percent the emission of toxic cyanide into the atmosphere from the coking plant in Zdzieszowice through our own efforts. This is to occur as early as this year.

#### Karol Wilsz

Poland is going through a crisis. Among its effects are havoc in the minds of the public, and indifference. Various instigators are expanding their activity on this groundwork. Added to this is the exceptionally difficult international situation--the arms race imposed by the United States. The revisionist policies of the West directly threaten the survival of our nation. Meanwhile, many people are still unaware of the threat and continue to turn a deaf ear to the efforts made by the authorities aimed at consolidating society for joint efforts in overcoming the mounting difficulties.

In referring to the issue of the movement's organization, the speaker declared himself in favor of PRON as a large-scale organization and in favor of the extensive expansion of its social base. Currently in Opole, for example, increasing the number of group memberships in PRON, i.e. party and social organizations is virtually impossible since their number already exceeds 80. On the other hand, it is possible to increase only the number of individual members. However, should this be done by creating PRON elements in work establishments, for example? This would strengthen the movement in labor class communities; however, would it not be like repeating or duplicating that which belongs to the responsibility of organizations already existing in work establishments? This is probably one of the most important problems which will have to be settled by the PRON congress.

Stanislaw Jachym

Stanislaw Jachyn stated that a great number of the ideological principles of PRON are very similar to the concepts to which the Democratic Party devotes its activity. Discussions were being conducted in this party's circles in Opole in which a series of tasks was formulated which the SD members want to implement on the PRON forum as well. Among the more important of these are: beginning a discussion immediately following the congress on the subject of the future electoral law; adopting the practice of not selecting activists who hold an office in a political party to the governing body of PRON; declaring general amnesty as soon as possible; finalizing organizational work for the creation of a constitutional tribunal and a president of state office as well as restoring television broadcasts of Sejm proceedings.

Differences of opinion and controversy in discussion within society should not be feared because friction generates energy. And energy is what we need so much of for work. Work should be given the highest priority in our country--work which will be performed with a passion and work backed up by moral and material incentives. However, this first requires a firm foundation--that of national accord which will contribute to the building of a strong state through the moral strength of the nation.

Jerzy Mista

Jerzy Mista presented the proposal that the name of the movement be changed to the Patriotic Movement for National Accord. In his opinion, both OKON and PRON, thus "salvation" and "rebirth" were adequate names at the time when these organizations were forming. Today, however, "accord" would correspond more closely to the social atmosphere and expectations.

In referring to the program assumptions, he stated that the basic task of PRON elements should be to tread on the heels of authorities because the reason why the previous administrations isolated themselves is that no one treaded on their heels. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth should keep an eye out for such deviant practices as multifunctionalism of many activists who already have so many functions and meetings that they do not have the time to talk with people. In his opinion, the settling of accounts of former prominent authorities should be finally taken care of.

### Grzegorz Gawrys

As the representative of a delegation of students from III LO [Liberal Arts Secondary School No III] in Opole, who were invited to the congress by the chairwoman of TRW PRON, Grzegorz Gawrys expressed himself on the subject of the problems of the young generation and its place in PRON activity. He expressed the assumption that the weak participation of young people in the activity of PRON elements could be the result of the as yet insufficiently active standing of the organization and its elements which represent the interests of youth. For the voice of the young to penetrate more easily, perhaps it is necessary to create commissions or teams in PRON elements which would fulfill the function of representing the interests of youth.

### Jerzy Kieron

"As a young farmer, I do not feel that there is a crisis in our country. As a child, I used to come to Opole and the city was in a dreadful state. When I come today I see beautiful, new homes and parking lots full of cars. Therefore, our state did accomplish something and a lot. But I would prefer to see Ursus C-330's standing there on Oleska Street in the place of all those cars. Then there would surely be no crisis because as things stand today farmers are losing too much time and energy taking care of the simplest matters such as the purchase of coal. The sense of justice is also struck by other examples of social inequality about which too little is said as, for example, the fact that children from rural areas do not have summer camp or outings and do not receive packages from the father's place of work." He also talked about the problems of acquiring telephone service in rural areas and about the pollution of ground water. He asked that all of these matters be brought up at the congress so that the state may finally treat the farmer favorably.

### Narcyz Hofman

The speaker, representing ZSMP, informed the discussants that youth committees have been active for a long time in many regional PRON elements. The problem does not lie in that youth organizations represent youth poorly but in that unaffiliated youth show too little interest in the work of PRON as well as in youth organizations. He also informed those gathered that in Krapkowice a lot is being done to integrate all young people and to promulgate political knowledge and culture. In his opinion, such activity should be started in school, even grade school. Since PRON brings together so many teachers, there should be no problem in reaching youth with PRON concepts. An organization, to which youth organizations could turn for support would be of great benefit to them because, after all, they themselves often come across obstacles.

He also stated that it is not a good sign that young people are not adequately represented in PRON but not so bad that this would necessitate going all out for quantity. Those who already belong to PRON are obviously there because of their convictions and we need more of them because although the young have the right to complain, they should finally become aware of what will happen when in turn their children will start asking: What have you done to make things better in the country?

### Boguslaw Gutkowski

Boguslaw Gutkowski focused his attention on considerations of what ought to be done so that PRON activity in the future would be efficient and as effective as possible. In his opinion, the way to guarantee efficient activity is to clearly describe the goals of the movement's activity and introduce individual participation which will constitute a basic premise for organizational discipline without which effective activity cannot be expected. The PRON movement has to be based on the principle of individual participation while at the same time foregoing the membership of collective political and social organizations. In order to achieve success in PRON activity, it is important that it be firmly established in the rules; i.e. the range and principles of PRON cooperation with other social organizations should be introduced into the already passed or projected rules and regulations.

### Antoni Kluczynski

In his presentation, Antoni Kluczynski stressed the necessity of spurring young people into activity in PRON elements without creating special committees in them for youth affairs. Of course, this movement should be open to all young people while youth issues ought to be solved within PRON without the formation of additional structures. He also emphasized that the concept of national accord should be implemented not by artificially enlarging PRON ranks but by gathering in it the best people who are dedicated to the social cause and who are capable of devoting much of their energy to the concept of reaching an understanding during this very difficult period for our country. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which does not as yet exert authority everywhere or always, must build society's respect for its ideas through daily work. The speaker also turned to those delegates who will be chosen to the National Congress requesting that they strongly present the issue of PRON participation in working out a new electoral law for national councils and the Sejm so that the voice of PRON may have a deciding influence in this domain.

### Wiktor Sprecher

Wiktor Sprecher stated that to date a significant part of society is still convinced that sooner or later PRON will become a facade. This conviction gives rise to distrust of the movement. For this reason, PRON ought to come into work establishments and reach all workers by presenting to them not only the general principles of its activity which are contained in the concept of national accord but also present specific proposals to them concerning activity for the good of their own community, their place of work and that which is of the greatest importance in a given community or environment. For it is then that PRON will gain public trust while distrust will be replaced with the acceptance of PRON concepts and goals.

### Jozef Kocaj

In his statement, Jozef Kocaj said that there are two extremely important levels of PRON activity: work on behalf of one's own community and for the purpose of taking care of its most urgent and painful problems as well as the second level which involves activity on behalf of the unification of all of

society for state and national causes of primary importance. We should unite in daily activity to attain the common goal which is overcoming the crisis, improving the material conditions of wide spheres of the population and the moral revival of society. We can only accomplish this under conditions of the existence of peace in Europe and that is why Poland's voice on the issue of security and peace in the entire world should resound strongly on the arena of international politics.

Alojzy Kirstein

In a short, succinctly formulated statement, Alojzy Kirstein presented the problems of the food economy seen through the eyes of a farmer who has faith that PRON will be able to stimulate the administrative apparatus into effective activity in terms of lending support to farming which would make it possible for our society to emerge from the economic crisis more quickly. He also stated, among other things, that if we want to overcome the crisis (which is really not all that strongly pronounced because, after all, no one is dying of hunger in our country), then we must work much harder and better both in rural areas and in all industrial plants and institutions. "I do not have a crisis on my 10 hectares because I work productively and if we all work well and productively, then we will not have to say that there is a crisis in our country and we will stop looking for assistance from abroad," stated the discussant.

Jozef Malinowski

The discussant acknowledged that as a sociopolitical movement, PRON should eliminate from its program that which pertains to small matters of an economic nature and which not too infrequently exposes the inefficiency of regional administrative authorities and of various cooperative as well as state units. The members of PRON have enough problems to solve in the area of shaping proper ideological-patriotic and ethical-moral attitudes of our society as well as in the area of forming a proper public opinion. We cannot disperse our efforts in order to take care of many simple matters which should have been done a long time ago by those who are paid to do this. We ought to steer the movement into those areas of life which should truly lead to national rebirth. The activity of PRON members should be genuinely patriotic and this attitude should be unquestionably instilled in the young generation, which often comprehends incorrectly the basis for this patriotism and what civic attitudes should be like. All this is necessary in order to avoid the mistakes which were often made in the past.

Jerzy Zelichowski

The guiding principle of PRON activity should be: "To save that which up to now was good in the sociopolitical life of our country and to develop that which was lacking." Based on the example of the activity of the PRON Council in Brzeg, he pointed out the great number of issues to be solved standing before the movement which should inspire local administrative authorities to take action in order to appease material, cultural and educational needs and also to act in the area of public health services. In our activity, we should all keep in mind that PRON is our chance for the integration of communities

in the carrying out of small tasks and those of the greatest importance on a national scale.

Jerzy Wojtczak

Jerzy Wojtczak pointed out that ZSMP and OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] are of the opinion that the concept of national accord is a political necessity. In order to assure the proper functioning of PRON, constitutional guarantees must be introduced on its behalf. Thus, the authorities, among others the Sejm should be acted upon to bring about an appropriate entry in the Constitution of PRL. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth must create a climate of approval for the justified actions of the authorities and at the same time it must convey the feelings and moods of society to the authorities. The movement cannot be just a conveyor belt between the authorities and society but a force which shapes attitudes, awareness and incentives for positive actions by all of society. For it is only then that we can implement the most important goals whose implementation is taking so long and is so difficult for us.

Jozef Magot

Jozef Magot strongly emphasized that one of the aspects of PRON activity should be to inspire all institutions, organizations as well as people of good will to come to the assistance of the elderly, the sick, the lonely and disabled war veterans. Despite the recently increased care of the elderly provided by the government, many of them continue to live in difficult financial conditions and in total isolation. We cannot just forget about them. Local PRON elements should call attention to the necessity of assisting these people.

Zbigniew Korczynski

Zbigniew Korczynski took a particular stand on the issue of the small representation of young people in PRON ranks, pointing out several historical reasons for this occurrence. According to this delegate, one of the ways of drawing in the young generation for public service work is by teaching youth about their native history and by drawing out patriotic themes for it.

Michal Najdek

In bringing up several diverse issues involving the goals of PRON activity, he particularly stressed the necessity of PRON activity for the strengthening of authority which in our sociopolitical situation is the guarantor of the creation of a strong state capable of carrying out the currently difficult and complicated tasks. "We should act for the development of total democracy and tolerance but at the same time, through multiplicity and pluralism of actions and attitudes--naturally, on the basis of the constitution and governmental principles--we should strive for unity on the most important issue which is overcoming the economic crisis and the moral rebirth of the nation. The range of PRON responsibilities, qualifications and obligations in preparing the format of the electoral law and the carrying out of the elections themselves should be clearly specified."

Jan Copiak

In reflecting upon the current sociopolitical situation in our country, Jan Copiak stated that the authorities have met the people half way. They have created the opportunity for society to express itself on issues of the utmost importance for the nation even if through various forms of collective consultation. This opportunity for dialogue between the authorities and society cannot be wasted. It is only through unity of goals and nationwide dialogue that we can implement the most important tasks standing before us.

Stanislaw Stepień

"I was taught to speak the truth in ZMP and to express myself honestly. For this reason I will say openly that at today's voivodship conference, I did not like that part of the elections which dealt with the introduction of candidates for the congress." Further on in his pronouncement, Stanislaw Stepień expressed the opinion that for the time being, PRON is not a strong social force. This real power can only be obtained by PRON through sensible activity for the good of all of society. We must show what is wrong in our social reality and that which we have to fight against.

"We cannot blame the crisis for everything. There are many people who carry out their professional functions incompetently and there are also individuals who want to use the crisis for their professional, social or maybe even political careers. Such individuals only look, as the saying goes, to see which way the wind is blowing, to attach themselves somewhere quietly. We should combat all this." In this respect, PRON should put many matters in order and not only those minor ones.

Jan Zasowski

In presenting the activity of the PRON Council in Kietrzan, he stressed how distrust, which was so apparent toward the movement in this region, changed gradually into acceptance of the concept of national accord. Because of this, it was possible to take care of many local matters, thus making everyday life easier for people. The PRON concepts were met particularly favorably in this region by the rural community.

Krzysztof Moszynski

Krzysztof Moszynski indicated that often PRON activity is thwarted by the incompetence of the local administration and that is why it should be specified precisely and as soon as possible what the rights and qualifications of PRON are in regard to the administrative authorities. Only then can its activity be efficient and effective. And only then will it be possible to draw in youth into the movement, which until now has been very critical of what the administrative authorities are doing and what influence we, as PRON members, have over this. In bringing up other matters, he expressed the opinion that one of the functions of PRON cannot be to conduct propaganda through socio-political organizations; at times this can already be observed. Within PRON we also absolutely cannot separate people into party members and nonparty

because all those [people] who want to build a socialist Poland came to us, to our movement. The movement should admit all of them and not dissuade anyone from itself.

Leopold Korczowski

In bringing up an entire block of problems concerning the functioning of PRON today and in the near future, he stressed that, in his opinion, there is too little popularizing activity of PRON concepts in the mass media while a sensibly-conducted propaganda can bring together increasing numbers of valuable individuals to PRON. In speaking about society, he dwelled a little longer on the ways of combatting pathological phenomena which are so characteristic of certain social spheres. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth cannot pass by these phenomena with indifference because they attest to a moral crisis not only of individuals but of entire social spheres. Mutual trust between the authorities and society is necessary not only in PRON activity but also in the implementation of set goals in the area of economic reform and in healing the morale of the nation.

Henryk Tomaszewski

(KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary). The speaker has noticed that in the Opole region, PRON activity is becoming increasingly more apparent while the movement's activists are not lacking creativity in solving various social problems. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth can take care of many of the most urgent problems in various social environments and it is already doing so quite effectively in many cases. In recalling that during the last period, one of the most discussed terms was the concept of "democracy," Henryk Tomaszewski indicated that one of the basic goals of PRON should be educating society about the principles of true democracy. After all, there cannot be democratization of authority or the structures of this authority without instilling in all of society a properly and realistically understood concept of democracy. In speaking about the goals facing PRON, he accentuated the idea that this movement ought to be a strong ally of the administration in its implementation of socially important tasks. However, at the same time PRON must serve as supervisor of this administration. The speaker also extended his wholehearted wishes to the delegates and to all PRON activists for their successful implementation of the economic and sociopolitical tasks which are of such great importance to the present and the future of our country.

Wieslaw Nowicki--member of the Presidium of the Provisional National PRON Council

In taking a stand in regard to some of the voices heard in the discussion, Wieslaw Nowicki stressed that PRON cannot take over for anyone, be it the national councils or the administration. However, it should enter into the sphere of sociopolitical issues which burden the public. Obviously, the basic elements and structures of the movement have a different range of activity than do the voivodship councils or the national council. It is good and well if individual citizens apply for membership to PRON, however, the collective participation of social organizations should not be disregarded because owing

to this, the program of PRON activity is enriched and the range where the concept of national accord extends is expanded.

Wieslaw Nowicki brought up the problems of youth and presented the opinion that society as a whole is responsible for the nation's future and that includes the young generation as well. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth must seek effective ways of attracting youth to its activity.

In discussing the experiences of OKON, the speaker paid high tribute to their activity, particularly during the first months of last year when they constituted a broad expanse for the building of cooperation and understanding within society. He also expressed his gratitude to those in uniform.

Wieslaw Nowicki gave high approval to the broad range of consultations in Opole Voivodship contained in the fundamental documents destined for the PRON Congress, which attests to the democratic formation of the principles of the movement. Consultations should be one of the basic forms and methods of PRON work, which through close ties with the citizens and society creates guarantees for itself that it will avoid formalization and other possible deviations.

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Yesterday's conference also elected 18 delegates to the National Congress. Earlier, during the course of gmina and municipal-gmina conferences, 26 delegates were directly elected to the national forum. A total of 44 delegates will represent all the PRON echelons from the Opole voivodship at the National Congress. Five persons from among the elected delegates were appointed at the conference as members of the National PRON Council.

The conference participants also passed a resolution condemning the retaliatory, revisionist trends which have been mounting recently in FRG.

#### Maria Nowakowska's Opole PRON Speech

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 12 Apr 83 p 3

[Speech given by the chairwoman of TRW PRON, Maria Nowakowska, at the First Voivodship Conference: "PRON Is an Organized Movement of Instruction in Civic Responsibility"]

[Text] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is justly called a great chance for Poland and Poles--it is being gradually incorporated into the conceptual and political image of Poland.

The sociocivic character of the movement is expressed in that it brings together Poles who had signed the declaration of 20 July 1982 and who accept the goals of the movement regardless of their party affiliation or world outlook because it is a movement for people of goodwill, who are active, interested in participating in public and political life of the socialist state and who bring to it their own opinions, ideological and moral values and who are guided by them in their activity.

We have undertaken our activity during a difficult period--a period of the greatest, multifaceted crisis which was caused by, above all, defective mechanisms of executing authority at various levels of management and of social and political organizations. Consequently, they led to the separation of leadership groups from society and, in effect, to conflict between these groups and the rest of the public.

However, we are fully aware that the source of this crisis were also negative social phenomena such as:

- low standard of professional ethics and a lack of regard for work,
- the lack of respect for common as well as personal property,
- widespread social indifference and most importantly, a lack of understanding for the needs of the state and lack of adequate concern for strengthening the state.

The phenomena occurring in society and within the sphere of authority are interdependent. Therefore, the elimination of the causes and effects of the crisis is contingent upon reforming the mechanisms and methods of the execution authority as well as upon the rebirth of various forces and social communities, in other words, upon the rebirth of civic attitudes. The key to this broadly understood reform is the individual--one who is conscientious, responsible, honest and well qualified while the power which can effectively heal our economy is a sound work ethic. However, a sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation is of the greatest importance.

This entails the need for a national, organized movement of instruction in civic responsibility. What is needed are citizens who possess a conscious, active, consistent and mutual love of the homeland. Such citizens will not endanger their country but through improvement of human attitudes and reform of social structures they will lift the nation out of the crisis.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth introduces into the political system, the principle of communication for understanding as a means of reaching solutions to political problems of smaller or greater importance. It is not only a question of reaching an understanding in the case of a specific conflict but also that reaching an understanding would be a firmly set principle in settling important issues in economic as well as political life.

In order to achieve this, understanding must become a state of social awareness within all of society; a state of attitude which places the primary reasons of state and the nation before grievances, divisions and personal viewpoints as well as before personal inconveniences and difficulties.

Let me be permitted here to quote the continually timely remark of a great statesman and a good Pole, Primate Stefan Wyszynski, who said: "After all, we cannot live in a state of constant war, tension and suspicion because this only brings harm to the individual and his family, to the citizen, the nation and the church. However, it brings the greatest harm to the state."

The life of Poles in 1983 is difficult and hard but, after all, difficulty and suffering are usually the forerunners of a better existence. Discerning observers are able to detect improvement already at this moment by comparing the current state of affairs with the year before. Nevertheless, people are impatient, full of anxiety, demonstrating a desire to join but often making it contingent upon a specific prospectus and plan. Such a plan has already been outlined in the resolutions of the signatories to: the Polish United Workers Party at the Ninth Congress, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, PAX Association, the Christian Social Association and the Polish Catholic-Social Union.

However, this is only the beginning of our difficult road. It is the beginning of an intense campaign which is aimed at bringing together most of society and creating conditions for the rebuilding of a normal life in Poland. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth wants to and is supposed to be a social rank and file initiative. It does not want to and should not replace authority of any kind. It wants to act unselfishly, creatively and boldly but not destructively for the good of the state. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will become an important factor of social monitoring and social initiative; in other words, it will be the nation's conscience.

Our movement is young. What form will it assume? The direction in which it will progress will depend on us and will undoubtedly have a bearing on its fate and more importantly--on the fate of society as a whole.

In this cooperation between the authorities and society and viceversa, the concept of the leading role of the party has to be formulated anew not in an earth shattering manner but lucidly and in a fresh manner. Together with the party and under its leadership, in protecting the socialist political system we must abide by the law and defend it steadfastly and decisively but in a rational manner.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is a movement open to all Poles who recognize the principles of the constitution and the steadfastness of the PRL regime. In the movement there is room for party and nonparty members, for the faithful and for nonbelievers, for those who seem lost, who are in doubt or distrustful because in work for the good of Poland there can be no divisions.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will implement hope for accord and genuine understanding by offering everyone such values as: civic subjectivity, a sense of security, social order and personal self-esteem as well as harmony through one ideological formula--patriotism. Let the Polish truths, who at one time fought here in the Opole region for the honor of the Polish nation, shed light on our mutual work in this movement in the Opole region. These truths remind us that:

1. We are Poles.
2. The faith of our forefathers is the faith of our children.
3. A Pole will always be a brother to a Pole.
4. A Pole serves his nation every day.
5. Poland is our Mother--one should never speak ill of her.

"These truths do not come from the minds of great thinkers but from the simple hearts of the Polish people."

We recalled the above truths on 28 September of last year when in this very hall, we appointed the Provisional Voivodship PRON Council. At that time, the signatories of the declaration of 20 July 1982 and the citizens' committees for national rebirth acting in the Opole region as well as other organizations, who accept the concepts of our movement, nominated candidates for the Provisional Voivodship PRON Council which currently has 6 months of intensive social work behind it. The executive organ of the 38-member TRW PRON is the 8 member Presidium. The task of TRW was, above all, to create structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the Opole region on the basis of autonomously organized citizens' committees for national rebirth. As early as in the middle of last year, these committees expressed the need for coordinating efforts on a voivodship scale. Thus, the TRW PRON took over the role of coordinator. Its individual members assisted in initiating the creation of PRON elements in towns and in gminas and subsequently, they assisted organized councils according to the required need. What should also be stressed is the fact that the signatories were engaged in creating a favorable atmosphere for the development of PRON structures in particular communities.

An important assignment for TRW PRON members was active participation in the following appointed task teams: programs, popularizing and promotional teams. The programs team worked out the "Basic Directions of PRON Activity in the Opole Region." After being accepted by TRW PRON, this material was then used for promoting and initiating the creation of PRON elements in the voivodship.

The members of the popularizing team conducted a dozen or so meetings in various communities, the topic of which was the position of PRON in the country's sociopolitical system. In addition, the promotional team has been conducting open discussion meetings every two weeks since 28 January of this year. The meetings are held in the PRON Debate Club located in the KMPiK [International Press and Book Club] in Opole. One of our guest lecturers in the PRON Debate Club was the TRK PRON chairman, Wincenty Lewandowski.

The promotional team made sure that information was being given about the activity of PRON elements on the radio, in the press and on television. The team also published difficult questions which were posed during discussions at meetings with the public. The promotional team put a lot of energy into compiling and publishing TRW PRON bulletins in Opole of which the latest and third issue was prepared for today's session.

The Council Presidium organized plenary TRW meetings, coordinated the work of the task teams and implemented the proposals which were passed by TRW at six plenary sessions. The topic of the plenary sessions dealt with organizational matters of the movement in the Opole region; the exchange of experiences in the work of its respective elements; cooperation with youth organizations, particularly in terms of increasing youth participation in the movement and finally, deciding upon the organizational assumptions of the precongress campaign.

The Council Presidium worked in direct cooperation with the signatories and with the Provisional National PRON Council. It mediated in various ways in, among other things, matters concerning improper interhuman relations in certain work establishments. Recommendations for consideration and implementation by the central authorities were also elaborated which pertained to the following matters, among others:

--the lack of opportunity for the full implementation of coal allotments according to the rights granted to farmers in 1982 with the concurrent proposal or organizational solutions in this regard;

--the need for more intensive and constructive cooperation between the ministry of mining and power, and the voivodship authorities in terms of properly incorporating the building of the Opole power plant into the socioeconomic infrastructure of the Opole region;

--the necessity of making a quick decision about beginning the construction of a circular railroad line in Opole for the needs of the power plant which in turn is a condition for the protection of the natural environment in the city of Opole.

In summing up this brief information about the nature of the work carried out by TRW PRON, I would like to point out that in the Opole region there are 62 local PRON elements which organized the precongress campaign in the basic units. The first phase of this campaign was summed up at the already conducted municipal, municipal-gmina and gmina conferences. These conferences also selected delegates to today's first voivodship congress in Opole. In accordance with the organizational assumptions of the campaign, a part of the above mentioned communities also chose delegates to the national congress at these conferences.

At the meeting of 25 March of this year, TRW PRON analyzed the preliminary results of the precongress campaign in the Opole region. It should be pointed out that during the course of the discussion, a climate of mutual concern among people of good will developed as well as an awareness of their responsibility for their own fate as well as for that of the community and the entire nation. This climate was evoked by discussions about the difficulties facing Poles.

A measurable effect of the campaign is the numerically significant expansion of the sphere of PRON participants and supporters as well as the observable gradual melting away of the existing barriers of doubt, indifference and antagonism toward the PRON activists. The number of people standing on the sidelines also decreased.

During the precongress campaign, 10 local PRON elements were formed in various gminas. To date, the presence of one gmina from Opole Voivodship is missing in PRON.

Numerous basic units of the movement were formed in work establishments and in rural areas. Although their number is significant (338), it continues to

be insufficient in relations to our plans. That is why, local PRON elements should direct their activity as soon as possible to the popularization of PRON concepts in these communities. It is worth noting that not everyone who joins the movement can be an activist (mainly due to lack of time); it is enough that they will implement in their place of work or residence the concept of understanding, of active and unselfish work and of the protection of law and order.

The specific proposals and opinions from the precongress discussion in the Opole region may be divided into two groups:

--the first one which concerns the direction of the movement's activity, its power and formal-legal foundations for functioning;

--and the second group which specifies on this basis the particular tasks for the quick solution of community and local grievances and problems.

In the first group of proposals, the dominant emphasis is on the general approval of the basic assumptions of the Ideological-Programs Declaration and that of PRON Statutory Principles which contains a number of modifying opinions and proposals and at the same time those which expand certain solutions. Among other things, it was suggested that the discussion about the reasons for the crisis be expanded. In the opinion of the discussants, the rights and powers of PRON elements in relation to the administration require elaboration. The statements made about the necessity of working out a new electoral law for the Sejm and for the national councils, which are contained in the draft plan of the declaration, were considered to be of particular significance. The need for legal placement of the movement including an entry in the constitution was strongly emphasized.

The discussions often brought up the need for joint action in terms of the patriotic education of society including young people; regard for common property; efficiency on an every day basis and developing responsibility for work. Reservations in regard to the current method of conducting consultations before making a decision on various administrative levels were also expressed. This primarily dealt with decisions on the issue of price policies. A lot of attention was devoted to youth. It was stressed that youth constitutes an integral part of society and decides about its future. However, constructive and specific initiatives were seldom heard from young people themselves.

The second group contains significantly more recommendations and proposals because they pertain to matters which are closest to the hearts of people-- daily matters which surround us. Their quick implementation in rural areas or in the city will give credence to our movement and will undoubtedly increase the number of its participants.

Despite the positive results of the precongress campaign, we are aware of the as yet great deal of imperfection in our work. The particular PRON elements are working out methods of activity through trial and error. These elements are totally independent and work to the best of their ability. However, in many instances, in comparison with other elements their work methods are far from perfect.

That is why, the most important tasks of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the immediate future will be:

1. Strengthening the position of PRON elements in the community through specific activity which is effective and which activates the work of citizens and also through the proper handling of cooperation with self-governing and administrative organs in one's local area.
2. Promoting PRON concepts in work establishments and rural communities.
3. Analyzing on a daily basis all recommendations and remarks submitted by various communities and individual citizens and after evaluating their validity, undertaking the implementation of the recommendations or intervening with the authorities in matters which require this.

The plans which are presented here in very brief form can become the basis for the authentication of our movement within society in the Opole region, thus gaining new supporters and members for the movement. At the same time, we are hopeful that the discussions held at today's conference will enrich creatively the work content of the Provisional Voivodship Council and that of the basic elements and will also make it possible to elaborate and formulate proposals which will be presented by our delegates at the National PRON Congress in Warsaw.

In desiring to maintain a system of work continuity, we propose that the delegates at today's conference preserve the validity of their mandates until the time of the second voivodship conference inclusively, which following the National Congress, will appoint a Permanent Voivodship PRON Council in Opole on the basis of the statutory principles adopted at the National Congress in Warsaw.

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL AKTIV DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Indoctrination of Political Aktiv

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 5 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (mw): "Edward Lukasik and Stanislaw Gebala Meet With Economic Secretaries"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /OWN INFORMATION. From 2 to 4 May [83]) a training course, organized by the PZPR Province Committee, was conducted in Poznan for the economic secretaries of city-district plant, city-gmina [parish] and gmina committees as well as of the basic party organizations in Poznan Province./

Concluding the 3-day course devoted chiefly to economic matters, including the problems of the application of the economic reform, the government conservation and anti-inflation program and the current socio-economic situation, Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Economic Department under the PZPR Central Committee, arrived to meet with the participants.

Assessing the economic situation last year, Stanislaw Gebala mentioned among the positive tendencies the slow but steady growth in production of the processing industry, the revival of exports, particularly in the second half of the year, and the signs of a return to normalcy on the food market.

The main conditions for fulfilling the 3-year plan were primarily specified to be: the need to implement the provisions of the conservation and anti-inflation program and the restructuring of employment considering that the current manpower shortage is in many cases only apparent. The limited investment possibilities require concentrating chiefly on modernization investments so as to prevent the depreciation of the fixed assets of enterprises. As regards restoring the market equilibrium, which should--in accordance with the resolution of the 10th Central Committee Plenum--be achieved chiefly through an increase in the supply of goods and services, it will mainly depend on the enterprises themselves.

In the ensuing discussion on general economic matters mention was also made of the economic problems of concern to the workforces of Poznan labor establishments.

The second half of the meeting was also attended by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the Poznan Province PZPR Committee, who was asked a number of questions by the participants.

Concerning the training topics, the first secretary commented: "There is no doubt that the economic front at present is the main front of political struggle. The increase in output and especially the solution of market problems will be a cardinal factor in surmounting the crisis and normalizing the socio-political situation. We already note the first instances of complete satisfaction of market demand for, e.g. detergents. Positive trends also are appearing in other fields. At present appropriate steps should be taken to exploit the entire potential harbored in the non-material sphere of production."

Discussing the recent socio-political situation in Poznan, comrade Edward Lukasik declared that /the program and strivings of the political enemies did not come to fruition/. The intent to boycott the officially organized celebrations of the Holiday of Labor ended in an absolute fiasco, as confirmed by the mass public participation in the First-of-May manifestations. /Whoever marched in the parade has demonstrated his will to accept the striving for peace and normal life in the country./ On the other side there was a particularly large number of young people enticed by the political underground for translating its plans into reality. This dictates specific tasks to party work, particularly at institutions of higher education and secondary schools.

#### Workers' Aktiv on Economy Matters

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 4-5 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by (mw): "Worker Aktiv Meets on Economic Matters: Conference at the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] /Yesterday the PZPR Province Committee building in Poznan was the site of a meeting of the members of the Poznan delegation to the national conference of worker aktiv in Warsaw. As stated by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, who chaired the meeting, it is the intent of the province party echelon to maintain steady contact with the worker communities and benefit from the experience and wisdom of the working class./ [printed in boldface]

Hence too arose the idea of organizing informal meetings with the socio-political aktiv of the Poznan labor establishments. This is especially important during the current difficult period of emergence from the deep economic crisis still gripping the country. Yesterday's meeting, which will initiate regular contacts of this type between the province party echelon and the worker aktiv, was organized shortly before the plenary session of the PZPR Province Committee, scheduled for 8 June, whose agenda will be focused on the situation in the province's economy.

Characterizing that situation, Bronislaw Steplowski, economic secretary of the Province Committee, discussed the currently most important economic trends. For several months now a tangible improvement has been taking place in many economic fields. It is clearly a relative improvement. Much still remains for us to accomplish before the pre-crisis production level can be reattained, and the scale of unsatisfied social needs still remains huge. But a gradual restoration of the market equilibrium is becoming evident and possibilities for dispensing with rationing are arising. There is a steady trend toward an increase in industrial output. The economic aspects of the performance of many enterprises have improved. Measures to streamline the effectiveness of management already are

producing some though still far from satisfactory results. At the same time, though, there still persist inflationary tendencies which imperil the correct functioning of mechanisms of the reform and are conducive to disorganization of the market. We are still far from fully exploiting the possibilities of the cadre of engineers and technicians for the application of technological progress. The gradual decapitalization of the fixed assets of enterprises also is disturbing. The degree of the utilization of production machinery and equipment as well as of work time is not satisfactory.

All these problems were reflected in broad discussion during which many critical comments and bitter reflections also were made. Among other things, many instances of still continuing waste were cited. The current progress in drafting and introducing plant conservation and anti-inflation program was critically assessed. Other problems raised included the role of the managerial personnel at enterprises which—in the opinion of the discussants—not infrequently impedes the progress of the reform.

Yesterday's discussion represents—Edward Lukasik emphasized—a substantial and enriching contribution to the topics to be considered at the coming plenum of the Province Committee. The problems surfacing in it will be considered in the text, now being drafted, of the resolution of the plenary session.

#### National Workers' Meeting Analyzed

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27 May 83 p 1

[Article by Marcin Borski: "An Answer to Every Question"]

[Text] At the National Conference of the Worker Aktiv—which must be constantly referred to because it will still long remain topical—ministers were directly asked more than 850 questions; doubts, suggestions and postulates were moreover contained in comments from the podium and those submitted for recording in minutes of the proceedings. Nearly 700 worker interpellations were satisfactorily answered on the spot, while the remainder required further investigation and answer in writing. In accordance with the promise of the first secretary of the Central Committee, every question and every comment and suggestion was answered. To avoid bureaucratic distortions, and also to exploit public interest—e.g. the topics of 260 suggestions and opinions voiced at the conference concerned the conservation program—the principle was adopted that the concerned minister would answer the most typical questions and his opinions, recorded by reporters, would be published by TRYBUNA LUDU. So far, there have been published more than 10 groups of such individually provided explanations in answer to the most often asked questions, concerning excessive employment in administration, effective ways of conservation, rules of social justice, the operation of the reform, wages, prices, privileges and discipline. Some of these answers concern problems mentioned by workers from the Bielsk, Czestochowa and Katowice provinces.

Thus for example. Minister Wladyslaw Baka took a position on the postulates voiced by Adam Szlempo from the Czestochowa Cotton Industry Works ("...convert the economy to the production of consumer goods") and Alfred Janik from the Bierut Iron and Steel Plant. In the former case the minister mentioned the decisions taken so far to encourage such production (reduced deductions to the Vocational Activation Fund [FAZ] and lower income taxes) as well as other systemic preferences ensuing from the economic reform, and he explained that a

tangible and definite increase in the output of consumer goods requires transformations of production programs and structural changes--which take time. Concerning the second question ("...relief measures or incentives must be applied in favor of the enterprises which reduce their production cost"), the Minister agreed with the suggestion, contained in the comment, that the current tax system has not favored cost reductions and hence is being revised and complemented. He added, however, that, irrespective of these systemic flaws, many enterprises, fearful of unpopularity, avoid posing these issues and tolerate excessive employment in administration--even despite the shortage of manpower in production departments--and complain that it is the central authorities that should prompt reductions in force among administrative personnel. This simply conflicts with the principle of the autonomy of enterprises.

Piotr Gdal from Katowice has, together with a group of other Conference participants, suggested that farmers be required to make additional deliveries, on justifying this by, among other things, planning needs. Dr Jozef Koziol, deputy minister of agriculture explained in an extensive commentary the inapplicability and low effectiveness of such a proposal. Ten years ago compulsory deliveries--the even then anachronistic payments in kind--had been abolished, and now they do not belong in the reformed system. The elimination of directive-type duress from agricultural production and procurements has resulted in improved supplies. The current delusions concerning the value of the directive-type system, ensuing from the low procurements of grain, derive from some misunderstanding of concepts: the decline in procurements was a natural reaction to the collapse of the market for means of production and consumer goods. The results of the year 1982, when the commercial production of the peasant economy had increased, are the best proof in favor of economic solutions, considering that administrative solutions inevitably tend to hamper agricultural production.

Deputy Minister Wojciech Pruss from the Price Office answered a question by Zbigniew Tuszynski from BARBARA Mine in Chorzow. The minister confirmed the accusations against certain companies established by the Polonia [Westerners, mostly Americans, of Polish origin who invest in Poland--translator's note] that they pirate raw materials and employees and jack up prices--phenomena which will be energetically combatted by applying economic instruments. At present work is under way to close the loopholes in the legal system so as to assure an effective economic control of this group of small producers to whom price controls are not being applied--which does not mean at all that their supervision and energetic influencing should be abandoned.

In a like manner clarifications were provided to other questioners, e.g. Teodor Molenda from the Bierut Iron and Steel Plant, who postulated the introduction of compulsory universal employment for all persons 18 to 50 years old, by deputy Minister K. Gorski; Wladyslaw Klimczyk from the STRADOM Works, who viewed the postulated reduction in the materials-intensiveness of construction as too low, by deputy Minister E. Trajer, and many others from our three provinces. Space and the broad variety of topics raised do not permit mentioning all the clarifications, while a too terse description would be bereft of that meaning which is contained in specific details. The rule that counts is that a specific answer was given to every question. The conclusions from that conference have not been forgotten. The ministers are drafting further lists of explanations and opinions reflecting the position of the central administration on the postulates and suggestions of workers.

ZAMECH Aktiv on Current Problems

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Jun 83, pp 1,2

[Article by (md): "The Aktiv of the ZAMECH Mechanical Plants Speaks Out on Current Problems"]

[Text] The party and managerial aktiv of the Elblag ZAMECH met yesterday with Jerzy Prusiecki, first secretary of the Elblag Province PZPR Committee; Stefan Walter, a PZPR Central Committee member and ZAMECH employee; and Jan Kubit, Deputy to the PRL Parliament. The meeting was also attended by Ryszard Swialconek, city party committee secretary, and it was chaired by Henryk Grycel, first secretary of the plant party committee.

Reflections on the recent 12th Central Committee Plenum were voiced by Stefan Walter. Next, Jerzy Prusiecki answered questions and comments from the audience. These also concerned opinions on the report of the Central Committee's commission for explanation of the causes and course of conflicts in the PRL, as well as the comments voiced during the plenum concerning the role and tasks of the basic party organizations [POP], the need to conduct periodic analyses of the implementation of the resolutions of previous plenums and the extent of the advancement of settlement of accounts with individuals responsible for the crisis in which our country has found itself.

Deputy Jan Kubit shed light on the conditions under which the 1983-1985 socio-economic plan was drafted. He stressed that the complexity of our present situation is such that that document largely represents a program of intentions, directions of action, guidelines and recommendations.

A number of questions asked of J. Kubit dealt with the situation and prospects of power industry.

Answering the questions relating to the economic reform, J. Kubit declared that within the present month the Parliament will introduce into the reform-regulating documents the concept of justified cost as a basis for price-formation. He stressed as well that the plants building power equipment and machinery will be bound by all the mechanisms and provisions of the economic reform.

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PZPR ACADEMICS DISCUSS IDEOLOGY, PROPAGANDA

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 17, 24 Apr 83 pp 1,4,5,6,7,9,15

[Discussion with Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, Jozef Mazurek, Wieslaw Czyzowicz, Tadeusz Iwinski, Stanislaw Kusmierski, Miroslaw Szczepanski, Zdzislaw Zarzycki, Julitta Glembcka and Adam Koseski: "On the Art of Gaining Trust"]

[Text] One of the most important tasks of the party now is gaining the trust of society. Experiences teach that efficient activity in this area depends on things such as reliable knowledge of the moods, aims and aspirations of the basic social classes. This knowledge should determine both the direction for political action and also the methods of informational and propaganda work.

The problems of this area of party work are the subject of the discussion below. The participants in it were: Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center, Col Jozef Mazurek, teacher at the Army Political Academy, Dr Wieslaw Czyzowicz, Dr Tadeusz Iwinski, Dr Stanislaw Kusmierski, Miroslaw Szczepanski, and Dr Zdzislaw Zarzycki, teachers at WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] and editor Julitta Glembcka of RZECZYWISTOSC. The discussion was led by the director of the Institute of Party Studies at WSNS, Dr Adam Koseski.

Adam Koseski: I suggest that we discuss five problems: first, the deterioration of the views of basic social groups, classes and layers; second, the problem of class identity of modern workers; third, the political mood at large plants and places of work; fourth, the problem of party consolidation; and fifth, the problems of the ideological struggle in the current political situation. The problem of historical awareness and conditions for conducting a dialogue are somewhat beyond the framework of this discussion. If the agenda for discussion does not arouse any objections, let's begin.

Stanislaw Kusmierski: Propaganda is similar to medicine or economics--everyone knows something about it. In current thinking, it is connected most of all to the problem of credibility and access to the mass media. These are, of course, problems that are of great importance, but there are others even more important. Propaganda is also supposed to fulfill the function of disciplining

society, to designate the areas of the people's interests. However, no one likes to be the subject of indoctrination and, for that reason, propaganda is not liked. The word itself brings out a feeling of distaste. In the United States, just before the outbreak of World War Two when study of propaganda was begun to find ways of increasing its effectiveness in preparing society for war, it turned out that everyone asked about their opinion of propaganda said that it was a morally questionable activity. For this reason, certain western sociologists also write that propaganda is a part of the broad process of creating stereotypes and myths. Others, though, thought that it is an art of gaining accord. This perhaps too generalized reflection seems important to me because the new political situation requires a new look at propaganda.

Wieslaw Czyzowicz: In speaking about the principles of propaganda activity in the present situation, one cardinal, and I would say, fundamental matter must be remembered: the suspension of martial law does not mean the suspension of the ideological struggle. Even the liquidation of martial law will not change this fact. There will be no suspension nor liquidation of the political struggle, especially not the ideological struggle. The struggle will continue. This is the primary and basic fact that one must be aware of. The national agreement must consequently have a strategic and class character tied to the building of socialism. That is the point of departure for all further solutions.

Zdzislaw Zarzycki: That is an obvious matter to me, a real truism, but there is no situation that will free us from the necessity of ideological struggle, whether martial law is abolished or suspended.

The ideological struggle is not a matter of generalities. It must embrace everyday problems, the real problems of every work establishment, and the affairs that make up the life of the people and puzzle them. Argumentation may not be abstract nor may it avoid these same concrete problems or it will not be accepted. The people are estranged by cliches.

I believe that we must know to whom we address our propaganda, in other words, we must know the situation of the working class, their aspirations, needs and interests. If these things are not taken under consideration, propaganda arguments will not be effective. We must also know the current interests of other classes and social groups in order to be able to point out certain interests, for example, that have been "tossed" to the working class. One rather frequently encounters the phenomenon of workers speaking about matters that are quite evidently not their interests. These are things like administrative affairs or altogether petty bourgeois interests. We must then unmask these pretensions and use concrete examples to explain just what is and isn't the interest of the working class. We cannot therefore drag our feet and let ourselves be led by the nose.

Miroslaw Szczepanski: I would like to bring up the so-called credibility of propaganda, that is, the consistency of promulgating our program with the same propaganda. The first matter concerns the use of plant radio facilities to broadcast propaganda: What is the nature of the work force there and where are their sympathies? Do the plant committees have an influence on the policy of propaganda broadcasts in the plants?

I hear of cases in which the editors of plant radio are completely coincidental persons, that is, they may be electricians or painters...the entire activity of the radio is often limited to just transmission of the everyday radio program.

The second problem is one of so-called visual propaganda. This is an area which has been terribly neglected. We have not had any great accomplishments in this area, considering the fact that this type of propaganda really doesn't convince anyone and is associated with portraits of work foremen and slogans such as "Poles can do it" or "We are building a second Poland." I feel, among other things, that for just this reason, the propaganda of the political opposition, despite its primitiveness, went over so well with the public not because of its content, but just because of its form.

The third matter concerns party training as a form of propaganda activity preparing party members for the role of propagandists in their own circles. It should establish a logical, comprehensive and programmatically consistent system which would take into account personal motivation and assure a real deepening of knowledge and the ability to use it in various situations.

Let's stop to think about whether we have a sufficient number of cadres in the field and whether we can give good materials for conducting activities to persons less well-prepared. Do we even have any good materials? The most important matter aside from this seems to be the teaching of propaganda methods and not just mimeographing brochures handed down to us.

Stanislaw Kusmierski: Political awareness consists of two main components: political knowledge and judgment of political values. These are components that are both rational and emotional. However, as far as the rational factor is the dominant one in stable situations, the emotions begin to gain the upper hand in situations of political tension. The sharper the conflict, the greater the emotional factor, and at its root, the factor of irrationality.

On a level of collective psychology, the course of a crisis corresponds, considering some delay due to lagging public awareness of economic processes, to a downward trend in the economy. A failure of economic growth shows itself in the collective psyche as severe frustration most of all. In such situations, individual fears of social endangerment come together in a new social quality. At the same time, there is a crisis of authority opening a chink in the structure which is then attacked by the dissatisfaction of the masses. The economic crisis becomes united with the political crisis. This is the time of the greatest susceptibility to various extreme proposals of solutions. In a psychological sense, defensive mechanisms reveal themselves then. With us, this took such forms as creating scapegoats, finding a culprit at any price.

The longings of an endangered society are very frequently expressed in the so-called myth of exceptionalness. It is characteristic that Solidarity very strongly referred to this myth, that "Poland is the Christ of the nations." Whenever a catastrophe has been sensed, this myth has come out in the robes of martyrdom and has had a place in our awareness as a stereotype until the present time.

And now there is another matter. Propaganda is one of the basic instruments for passing down historical information in a popular form. Many people learn facts about the past or are even first acquainted with various historical facts on the basis of what they hear on the radio, read in magazines or see on television. Media silence on historical subjects, especially those that are so-called embarrassments, has its consequences. It brings about blind spots in our historical awareness and, as a result, makes it possible for the political opponent to build up his own interpretation of them.

In the social awareness of a decided majority, "socialism" is associated with social justice. Let's note that the enemy very coyly used slogans about re-privatization of enterprise, and only in the last phase of his activities did he remove the word "socialism" from his vocabulary. Among the positive elements of the times, I would count disenchantment with Solidarity and an increasingly stern evaluation of its leaders and extremists.

Tadeusz Iwinski: I would not be such an optimist. I would look at the matter somewhat differently. The rise in criticism of the views and activities of antisocialist groups, especially the extremist elements in the Solidarity leadership is dying down more quickly than faith in the authorities and the party is being restored. A specific gap is therefore being created and one of the chief tasks of our propaganda should be to fill in this gap.

We still have not fully succeeded in convincing society that the conflict in September 1980 was one over the manner of exercising socialist authority and that it was only at a later point, mainly due to the activities of the opposition forces and some of our own mistakes as well, that this conflict was led down a false and erroneous track. The greatest danger at the present time is the apathy of a large part of society and lack of faith in the possibility of changes for the better. This also presents us with the great task of winning over these "silent ones." I don't know whether it is a "silent majority" or a "silent minority," but I feel that at the present time there is a great need for patient explanation of a series of matters and concentrating on the things that unite us. Meanwhile, we don't need to open new struggles.

Jozef Mazurek: It seems to me that we must clearly realize who is supposed to organize propaganda, to whom it is to be addressed, and what it is supposed to express. And if we are struggling, and propaganda is always of struggle for or with someone, then we have to say with whom we are struggling by first and last name, and not camouflage our target by too vaguely and too seldom naming our opponent. I understand and am aware of the fact that it is a matter of suppressing the hostility of certain circles to the party and the socialist order. I think, however, that this hostility may be put down among potential followers of our order and not among its actual enemies. That type can be bought, scared, destroyed or tolerated.

Wieslaw Czyzowicz: In my opinion, the first thing determining the effectiveness of our propaganda is still the existing socioeconomic and political crisis. The other thing is the rise in antisocialist activity of some of the clergy despite the fact that this cannot be generalized to the whole Church and all clergymen. One of the examples of political activity of clerics

joining with dissident activities is the "sermons" of Bratkowski in Podkowa Lesna. The next thing that often escapes the eye is the fact that various groups or remainders of political groups are uniting around the conspiratorial leadership of Solidarity. Even if previously there were conflicts and animosity between them, they have now begun to form on the basis of negation of reality a solid front of opponents to socialism. These are social forces of a limited number of persons with no great possibilities for influencing public opinion, but they must not be underestimated. Different types of antisocialist organizations have emerged from just such small groups using very diverse strategies and tactics. Martial law has limited their possibilities of action but has not liquidated them altogether. We must also remember the powerful support given by foreign centers and propaganda broadcast by stations such as Radio Free Europe and Voice of America.

Zdzislaw Zarzycki: The significance of real political facts more than anything decides the effectiveness of propaganda activities. Persons that were employed in the Solidarity professional aktiv, KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] activists and other opposition groups exist and are active. More and more often, I am asked about our relationship to the Church hierarchy, the Church as an institution and the decision to set up new Catholic theological academies in Poznan and in Wroclaw. These are problems raised today by nonparty members that see these issues and ask where we are going. Closing one's eyes to obvious issues will not amount to anything. Speaking as a Central Committee lector, I do have to make use of real facts and that isn't easy!

Stanislaw Kusmierski: In periods of general impossibility with their uncertainty of judgment and evaluation, people adopt stereotypes more willingly than in stable periods in the hope that these stereotypes will enable them to close themselves off from an uncertain reality that they don't understand. It must be said that the impotence of our propaganda and its shortages during the 1970's had a part in this. Another stereotype that is always at work in the people's awareness is the conviction that our political system is incapable of reform. This stereotype has been systematically enlarged by our opponent. This has been an encouragement to create programs not only in competition with ours, but ones destructive of the values of the socialist order.

Jozef Mazurek: It seems to me that in our propaganda a backstop of ideas drawn from the opponent's political lexicon is being used without anyone even noticing. The taking over of a particular terminology later produces certain practical implications. Examples of this sort of terminology are "reformed socialism," "doctrine of elastic reaction," and so forth. Bolstering our positions with notions used in the political rehtoric of the opponent should not be a part of our propaganda and notions such as these should disappear from its political lexicon. We can talk about the development of socialism, its improvement, the building of socialism and streamlining the mechanisms of authority without using bourgeois phraseology.

Stanislaw Kusmierski: That has undoubtedly fostered the utterance of slogans contrary to the essence of socialism. An example of this may be the petty

bourgeois slogan of achievement of material successes according to high western standards.

The next stereotype is the conviction that the Polish authorities have been constrained by the West's use of economic retaliation. This has helped the political opponent to strengthen his position. This stereotype has also taken on the form of the idea of the West providing real and effective protection to antisocialist forces in Poland.

Jozef Mazurek: On radio and television, we complain that Reagan has rescinded Poland's most favored nation status, but since when is our opponent supposed to help us in building socialism? We talk about raw materials. Please show me a broadcast in which something is said about using our own raw materials which show some conviction and faith in our internal strengths and possibilities.

Stanislaw Kusmierski: With the help of propaganda by the Solidarity extreme wing, there has been set in the public awareness a series of stereotypes devaluating such ideas as democracy, government awareness, etc. Public uncertainty has also caused by the spread of a series of stereotypes of apparently less range of influence such as "the dirty hands of authority."

Propaganda should recreate in the public consciousness those activities that were impaired by the political opponent and by our own mistakes. Aside from that, our propaganda must also create and shape new attitudes. The main task, however, of propaganda should be to refer to those values that grow out of the society's need for action and its need to involve itself in our common affairs.

I would like to give an example here. The first successes of the PPR [Polish Workers Party] in the first period of the struggle for power were to the same extent the result of the principled struggle against the political opponent and the ability to point out new common goals, especially the reconstruction of the nation from its ruins. It was just that pathos of national reconstruction that was to a great extent the cause of the political opponent not being able to involve the public with its problems and the internal division at that time was significantly greater than it is now.

The field of battle should also include overcoming the so-called Polish impossibility. This should be done by means such as attuning party propaganda to that of the government. This should not, however, take the form and methods used in the 1970's when the party was administered through the mass media. The then-launched slogan of the nation's moral and political unity objectively fostered the formation of a stereotype combining the idea of Pole and Catholic. This fusion of ideas coexisted with the ideology of class solidarity. If we wish to analyze political awareness, then we must remember class awareness which is, after all, the result of the entire class structure. The outline of class concerns among us is very diversified. The idea of wiping out class differences unfortunately turned out to be very false. The recent times have brought out in sharp relief the immense complexity of class relations in our country.

Tadeusz Iwinski: Karl Marx once said that "in every human race, when the train of history takes a turn, the thinkers fall off the wagons." That is a very accurate statement that might serve us as a warning on one hand, and, on the other hand as an encouragement to think with a certain amount of anticipation.

I would say that we know more what sort of factors are at work now on the public awareness than we know what the state of awareness itself is. What forms of propaganda should be used then? We are now living in such times that the form is as important as the content and even more so because a poor form often hinders communication of the content. Our propaganda must obviously be deeply inspired by marxist-leninist thinking rather than superficially so. It must present reality in accordance with marxist methodology and thus look at the contradictions that exist and not a set of popular ideas of some sort of "decalogue." I feel that we should boldly present in our propaganda the idea that problems facing the communist parties do not get any easier as the influence of the communist movement grows in the world and the process of socialist construction advances. It works to the contrary--things become more complicated.

The next requirement is the decline of "lip service" which absolutely must follow. What I mean here is "lip service" as a category found among the opposition to thinking independently within a marxist-leninist framework. And the last thing is the matter of expressiveness of the language of propaganda. Lenin once said "Polemicize as sharply as you like but say what you want to say clearly." With us, this clarity is very often lacking. It is, after all, a matter of the content of propaganda which we should absolutely take into account. I would change only certain points, not pretending to exhaust the subject.

Thus, we must first of all present the PZPR as a party of understanding, struggle and social and political reform. All of these three factors should be tied together.

Jozef Mazurek: I would give anything for someone outside of this circle to understand that. In essence, these are mutually-inclusive terms. Understanding eliminates struggle. It may be that instead of struggling for agreement we must decipher these ideas. It seems to me that a very important matter is that of restoring the rank of this terminology which it deserves as marxism-leninism. We very frequently use, for example, the notion of class character. What does that mean? We say that we represent the concerns of the working class. Let's call it by name. What concerns me is unambiguity of terms containing clearly ideological elements related to working class interests. If we do not gain the support of that class, our propaganda will be a swan song. I think that we clearly have certain tasks in strategic propaganda and that is the dissemination of marxism-leninism.

Tadeusz Iwinski: In my opinion a propaganda campaign on a marxist conception of socialism is necessary. Unfortunately, socialism with us has "washed out" somewhat. Almost everyone is for socialism but it's frequently socialism understood in social democratic categories. We must therefore return a

proper, scientific idea of socialism. The next problem that we should address in propaganda is a comprehensive evaluation of the 16-month period from August, 1980 to December, 1981. What was the actual character of events? Without solving these matters, we cannot overcome certain social barriers, and there are diverse dangers here of falling into extremes.

The fourth thing to consider is the need for stressing the necessity of rational socialist development. This is, I feel, one of PRON's [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] tasks as a movement also capable of working out solutions that would be acceptable to a decided majority of society. We must also point out the connections between the ideas of the antisocialist opposition in Poland and bourgeois social thought. Here I can distinguish three groups and three methods of derivation of bourgeois social thought: one, the KPN, which is extremely anticomunist; two, imitations of the western model, such as the Solidarity leadership; and three, uniquely convergent groups such as KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee].

Now for the last problem. I feel that, in the post-August period, Polish ethnocentrism and a type of neomessianism somewhat connected with Towianski-ism have lingered on. We should have broken such provincial thinking which treats Polish affairs as the belly-button of the world. We must attempt to wisely show that in the last instance, Poland is regarded in the West as no more than a Soviet ally.

Wieslaw Czyzowicz: I agree with what Dr Iwinski said about an almost complete lack of elementary knowledge of marxism-leninism and the frequent appearance of this knowledge in a very simplified and vulgarized form of slogans and mottoes. Once I took a small poll at the university. Out of several hundred students, barely a handful admitted that they had read marxism's elementary work, "The Communist Manifesto."

In our propaganda and ideological work there is a lack of planning of to whom our propaganda is addressed. Again we have become too generally oriented. To a significantly greater degree we should point out the class interests of the urban and rural proletariat instead of speak about generalities. It is worth remembering the 18-19 December 1982 conference of the United States State Department at which American political scientists and other specialists worked out a strategy and tactics for divisive activity against Poland and the socialist countries during the present period. They don't let things go unintended.

In the present situation as I see it, our ideological and political activity should cover two types of action equally. The first is offensive-programmatic action and the second is action aimed at discrediting and demasking our opponents. In both cases, forestalling offensive action by the opponent is 90 percent of success, moreover if we do that everywhere and consistently. We should be oriented to the offense and not remain on the defensive. We must concentrate on a few fundamental matters. In my opinion, we have to broaden our propaganda and training activities with regard to the materials and resolutions of the Ninth Congress. We slept through the period immediately following the congress and we slept through the martial law period. We should

wake up at last and put an end to the theme relatively frequently suggested, even among party members, that we don't have a program. That is nonsense. No one has yet presented a program that is more realistic and universal and not just economic. In our activities we must, however, show not only the plusses, especially the economic reform, but also the dangers that accompany realization of our program so that we don't fall into a euphoria that everything we are doing has a prosocialist character. I have much doubt about this and sometimes I don't agree at all with the everyday use of this term to refer to social and economic decisions that have been forced by the situation after all.

And finally the last issue. That is the explanation of our reasons of state, the indispensability and the necessity, not only geopolitical and ideological, but also economic and military, of the participation of Poland in the Warsaw Pact and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. We must also point out the actual capabilities and possibilities for the further economic and social development of our country within the socialist commonwealth. Among other things, this is so that we can, if not liquidate, then at least neutralize antisoviet feelings that are emerging in the public consciousness and are kindled by our political enemies.

Jozef Mazurek: I recently heard two speeches by the minister of finance in which he stated that the disorder in the government is getting worse and worse and that there isn't any financial discipline. Someone, after all, is emitting money and throwing it on the market. This is no way to persuade the mass media audience.

I must honestly say that in my opinion our propaganda front does not look in the best shape, especially in the mass media. When someone hears our propaganda for half an hour, they begin to yawn, to die of boredom or to even look for a boring book. The same phenomenon can be observed at party meetings. I ask you to notice how people in corridors discuss things, quarrel, converse, laugh and just act themselves. I think that in the same way propaganda must include sarcasm, lampooning, ridicule of the opponent, irony and laughter. The mass media should be seen as a thing in itself and not just the media of the authorities. Humdrum, but interesting everyday life must go into the mass media.

From what I know about our draftees, I can say outright that the majority of Solidarity's members do not generally know the organization's ideas. If they struck, it was because their colleagues were striking, but why they were striking, not many of them knew. It seems to have been the same with students. I think that we must come out with mass propaganda in accordance with the leninist concept of propaganda. I would also like to stress the importance of real facts. Do we always make use of them? It seems that we still do not use these facts for various reasons.

I think that one of our mistakes has been that of underestimating our own strengths and continually repeating to ourselves, "What do we do if 3,000 plants go on strike?" Thirty thousand plants would never go on strike! If you listened to radio and television, then rural Solidarity seemed to be the

end of the world but when I went to the country, it was hard for me to find anyone at all from Solidarity. Martial law proved one thing unquestionably: that there were considerably fewer people against socialism than it seemed to us. That does not mean, however, that we can underestimate the strength of our opponent, but there does exist a need for a certain dose of optimism in propaganda, a certain moderate optimism because excess can even ruin love and trying to teach Poles something often has an effect other than the intended one.

The final thing is the problem of clearly determining the class basis of a national agreement. Information on the activities of PRON may not conform to the slogans of the moral and political unity of the nation.

Zdzislaw Zarzycki: The worker is the one who most strongly senses the breakdown of the class character of party and state policy and the discrepancy between theory and practice, propaganda and reality. The worker is also especially aware of what is taking place in the realm of social justice, of the fortunes of the nouveau riche and the new bourgeoisie and of the fact that they are having the burden of social costs thrown on their backs. It does not help to say that we will not be taking over private enterprises because that doesn't amount to much on an overall social scale. That is not the problem! We cannot, after all, continually repeat slogans about defending the workers' class interests and at the same time sanction everything that goes against those interests.

The use in propaganda of the word "authorities" is irritating, especially when used in the combination "authorities and society." What does that mean? Who are the authorities? Are the authorities not part of society? Has authority become so alienated that it can no longer be a part of society? Finally, what does that mean? Jacek Kuron was able to enjoy this very same situation when, in April 1981, in a speech at the Krakow Philharmonic, he said that KOR's greatest success was that it had thrown the party and government into the same bag as authority against the public. And as if we have not understood a thing that we have heard, we keep going on about the division of authority and the people. I am asking, why? What does this gain us? Not to mention principles...

I don't believe that the party has had to use its authority in every decision of coalition government anyway. Maybe its better to keep some distance or even be an instrument of pressure on government decisions involving working class interests. I don't really know, but I think that we must contemplate these matters. I am simply presenting my doubts.

Here's the last issue, the directing or leading role of the party in propaganda. We must put an end to all evaluation and banalities on this subject. The party's role as a leader may not be associated with just centralized leadership, the party apparatus or the aktiv. If we do not overcome the psychological barriers these produce, it will be hard for us to promote the party's leadership within and beyond the party.

We have to go into concrete relationships. What is the leading role of every concrete party organization in work establishments to be based upon? What is

the relationship between the party organization and the plant direction, administration, workers' autonomies and the labor unions supposed to be? How should the organization behave, when should it support the administration and when does it have its responsibility as the party to oppose administrative actions? It seems that the party, especially now, should really know where its place is. And this is the role of propaganda: that the party organizations know what they can do, what their rights are, and what the new party charter authorizes them to do. This means, for example, how the party organization should play its role in the area of cadre policy, political control of the administration, of party members that are important administrative personnel, etc. This party may only bear responsibility for the decisions that it has made.

There are tendencies for legal regulation of the party role in the plant. They more or less follow the pattern of constitutional rules on the party's leadership. It isn't a case of regulation, though. The party's authority cannot be regulated by any laws or decrees, because it is based on the behavior of every party member in a given party organization or place of work.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: At least half of the matters under consideration need proper examination. I admit that I have been counting on the results of examination of these matters and have put myself "on hold." Since most of what has been said has, however, been a matter of common sense, generally the result of personal thought, I feel that I can also offer a few of my own reflections, mainly because I view many of these problems differently.

As it turns out, we differ among ourselves in our views of fundamental problems. In my opinion, for example, socialist propaganda concerns more than stereotypes or the simplification of emotional or value judgments about reality. The efforts to achieve an agreement are praiseworthy and may even succeed, but does it have to be agreement with everyone and at any price?

In my understanding, propaganda is ideological action on society which is organized and directed for the purpose of shaping attitudes and behaviors that are consonant with present and future policies.

The dependence of propaganda on ideology and practice has been specially emphasized. Everyone would certainly agree with that. It is, however, harder to reach an agreement on ideology and policy. I must regretfully say that now that Solidarity's demagoguery has been "put aside" from the public consciousness, party demagoguery has taken root in the thinking of some of our party officials. Demagoguery does not surprise our opponent, and every opposition uses and wins by criticizing everything, but shouting at the public what it wants to hear and making the leadership look bad, regardless of intention is disruptive and sectarian.

The ideology with which we identify ourselves is not a set of commonplace ideas or pseudophilosophical, handbook verses. Its spread does not depend on repetition of "isms" in every other sentence. We do not need spells but weapons to fight with, an effective means of transforming social reality.

There are different ways to fight, for example, by frontal assault or by envelopment. We must not merely negate that which is not our own, but we can also accept and unite our allies with the cry of "he who is not against us is with us" and "the enemy is only he who wants to be one." Even in revolutionary passion, we have to keep our feet safely on the ground. Theoretically it is possible to rush ahead without looking, without looking at the real situation, but you then cease to be a person of anything whatsoever.

In speaking about propaganda now that martial law has been suspended, we must, above all, be clear as to what our aims and reasons are and what values and interests we are defending. Under the conditions in Poland, the obligation of the party, in accordance with the teachings of marxism-leninism is, as I see it, the constant attending to and analyzing of the interest of its own class against the background of other classes, both on an internal scale, in alliance with the SD [Democratic Party], ZSL [United Peasants' Party], and Catholic associations in the struggle against political opposition groups, and in international relations by analyzing the actions of opponents and their ideological and propaganda activity. Getting down to details, I would look for answers to the following questions: How are we to unmask the goals of our political opposition and their connections with the West? How do we polemicize and reveal the intentions of opponents operating within legal bounds? How do we isolate and lay bare its demagoguery?

Propaganda should be sensitive to moods of society and to its sources of dissatisfaction. It should support discipline and stigmatize thriftlessness, speculation, economic crimes, parasitism, and the whole realm of problems similar to these. Propaganda should support the efforts of the authorities to strengthen the socialist state and think in terms of the state. I can offer different forms of direct action such as contact with the people. A good example of this was Vice Premier Rakowski's meeting with letter writers. Let's leave official language and the championing of textbook marxism-leninism to another occasion because that isn't a language with which we can speak to people. It is all a matter of marxist content and not of words that arouse unwanted emotions in moods such as these. The misfortune of our propaganda is that it has been and is the politicians that have been involved in it, rather than specialists.

Zdzislaw Zarzycki: Col Kwiatkowski's point of view had its stress on the current tactical and operational action of propaganda. I, on the other hand, feel that a knowledge of ideological principles and strategic goals is not enough. At this time, the most important matter is the one strategy that is known in our country the strategy for economic development for the year 1985. I have not seen any long-range, perspective planning. In my opinion, there have not been up to now any specified and organized tactical assignments either. We are the creators of facts, but there are also certain stagnated facts that have nothing to do with us and which are being used by our opponents. That is something that escapes our view and the opponent drags out October, March, and August and reminds us if we don't come out with it first, electoral problems, etc. These are facts that we cannot avoid. Does our propaganda consider ideological reasons, for example, in the matter of rural policy?

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: Those are the realities. It cannot be otherwise. It is a mistake to think that socialism can be built in the present of working people, beyond them and without their participation, or even despite them. Things were done in the beginning by theory and now the mistakes of practice have shown that it isn't possible to build socialism without the people. We cannot force development through for the sake of the working class. Socialism germinates and grows in the human consciousness. The same people are the ends and the means, and subject and the object of action. The difficulty is in combining them into one, the ideals and interests of the people, how to do things so that one would come from the other dialectically and logically. The countryside is as it is and we must act to satisfy the peasant and the worker and that is what the whole art consists of.

Julitta Glembocka: Please allow me to polemicize. In as much as I agree with the statement presented here and known everywhere, that socialism cannot be built without people (and there would not be any sense in socialism without people anyway!), I cannot imagine that socialism would have to be "forced for the sake of the working class." I feel so for this simple reason, which is that this order is one, considering the nonuniformity of the working class, inner contradictions and differences in awareness, in which the workers are absolutely and objectively interested, for reason of their class position. However, experience has shown us that socialism and the practice of socialist construction do not always go hand in hand.

Socialism cannot be built "on a straight road." Sometimes it is necessary to detour, to make up for lost time, or even be able to backtrack. This depends upon many factors such as the international situation, the concrete relationship of class forces and our own mistakes. It is, however, a matter of not losing the "red thread" that Lenin spoke about.

As we know, the party is threatened by such things as "tail-ism" and the "childhood disease of the Left wing" but it is not enough to say that we cannot stay behind and it is not enough to warn against "rushing ahead without looking." We must still know what we are trying to do and be able to determine why the road turns and backtracks and, most importantly, what it is to serve in the future. I think that communists are under the obligation of class earnestness and honesty.

The matter of the party-leadership relationship: I would be more cautious in formulating judgments about the disruptive and sectarian character, as Dr Kwiatkowski put it, of noncircumstantial, bitter and unpopular statements from "our own ranks" to "our own leadership." I have serious doubts that something like criticism formulated in and by the party, from some other place in an even less sufficient manner, prior to its Eighth Congress, about the policies of the central leadership can, regardless of intentions, be called slanderous, disruptive and sectarian. It is not a good thing if, waving some sort of label of which there is such a swarm lately, some publicists, scholars and others would most willingly pour lead into the mouths of their opponents and cut off discussion within the party. This is all the more so, as there has always existed a rule that the more the party remained silent, the louder and more boldly our opponent has spoken.

The next matter is interpretation and realization of the slogan "who is not against us is with us." The use of two ideas has been accepted by us: anti-socialist and prosocialist forces, and this leads to a series of misunderstandings. There is, after all, an entire range between ally and enemy, an entire gamut of attitudes in between. In my opinion, the Church, for example, is neither anti- nor prosocialist but, on the other hand, it conducts a realistic policy and it is only in this sense that I would not regard the Church as our opponent but, at the same time, I would not look to it as an ideological ally in the building of socialism. I would like to add marginally that it is my conviction that martial law proved not the strength of the prosocialist hinterland, for if that were the case, martial law would have never been necessary, but the weakness of the antisocialist hinterland. That sounds optimistic, but the enormous difference between these two positions must be seen.

The last issue is that of party demagoguery, the championing of textbook marxism-leninism, "lip service," and commonplace slogans. Here I would distinguish propaganda language from the language of science in that the language of propaganda must rely on science and not the other way around, as it was before. I will admit that I can't imagine the removal of marxist terminology from marxism but that doesn't mean at all that it is possible to substitute the class analysis of facts and phenomena with a set of popular notions. However, it sometimes happens that an attack apparently aimed at these so-called popular ideas is in de facto agreement with marxism, the working class, and socialism and smuggles in word and definitions, but has content from completely other realms. This intellectual juggling still continues in parts of our press. It cannot always be interpreted as lack of knowledge of marxism or a youthful fascination with bourgeois phraseology. Sometimes, seeing the signature of some well-known name on such nonsense, it all looks different. And in the championing of textbook marxism-leninism, I see the greatest misfortune, although the narrowness of thought strikes everyone. It is in the discrepancy between what we say and what we do that "lip service," banality and revolutionary cliche has its origins. I remember the 1970's when ideology was so alarmingly accommodated to rash decisions and everything in science, theory and propaganda was so prosocialistic, developed, uniform, and generalized that it's a wonder where that August suddenly got started. You can pretend to not see the contradictions and cover them up with propaganda but they will not disappear. If something is not done about them in time, they will sooner or later explode.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski: I would like to add that there are those editors that put the slogan from the "Communist Manifesto" at the head of their newspapers but find those words hard to say. Within the "renewal," they proclaim classlessness, but avoid unambiguous vocabulary. We are absorbed with correct Polish--symposiums are organized, conferences, books are written, interviews, consultations, etc. I know that is valuable and needed but we are also making it possible for people to know so little about the ideological stratification of words in spite of the fact that one often sees now just how ambiguous are popular ideas and how difficult it is to understand them. The same word can mean something else entirely depending on the ideological orientation and the political interest.

Adam Koseski: This meeting has shown just how small our knowledge still is about what ideological and propaganda activity should be, especially during a crisis. We all agree that it should be of good quality but what does "good" propaganda mean these days? It doesn't seem to me that it means avoiding marxist-leninist ideas because we cannot replace these ideas by anything. Textbook banalities are often what all terms become if we deprive them of their content and value, even marxist terms.

Beyond doubt, the weakness of our judgments is that we have formulated them mainly on the basis of individual observations and reflections and partly from autopsy of the situation, but not at all on the basis of study. I feel that we must do everything to fill in the gaps and regularly conduct representative research helpful in its effects on particular classes and social groups. I have doubts as to whether the only way out is to helplessly fold our hands because such are the realities of the situation and we must apply ourselves to them.

The meeting has been useful but, as usual, the participants are leaving assured of their own convictions. Thank you for participating in this discussion.

The discussion was recorded by Julitta Glembocka.

P.S. This discussion conducted under the slogan "Propaganda under the suspension of martial law" took place at the Higher School of Social Sciences of the PZPR Central Committee.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Unions, Economic Reform

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 2 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Joanna Jackowska, Counselor-at-Law: "Trade Unions and the Reform"]

[Text] /The formation of new trade unions coincides in time with the application of the economic reform. From this ensue specific tasks to trade unions. The subject is discussed by counselor-at-law Joanna Jackowska. We divided her extensive study into three parts of which the first we publish today, with the two other parts to follow in successive issues of GAZETA./  
[printed in boldface]

The decree of 8 October 1982 on trade unions endows them with a corpus of rights and duties for the purpose of their exercise of protective functions and active participation in the shaping and implementation of the socio-economic tasks of our country.

A significant role in exercising these functions belongs to plant trade-union organizations. Article 30 of the decree provides that the scope of activities of these organizations includes representing the interests of the workforce through participation in the settlement of the personal and collective problems of its members and, if a justified need arises, utilization of the right to strike.

The exercise of these rights follows the principles and procedure defined in the Labor Law Code and implementing regulations. The activities of plant trade-union organizations in the immediate future will not be easy considering that the current legal system regulating labor relations is not adapted to the economic reform now being applied. The traditional Labor Law Code is a law adapted to the needs of a centralistically managed economy based on the directive-type system of management.

Yet in our country the legal underpinnings of the economic reform have already been legislated into life. This took place through the promulgation of new decrees regulating the following domains: activities of state enterprises, workforce self-government, the financial system of enterprises, planning, the tax system, and principles of emoluments for employees of state enterprises.

At present enterprises are autonomous, self-governing and self-financing. Hence too they themselves determine their employment level, autonomously plan their activities, determine the size of their wage fund and, above all, they now have the right to independently determine the principles and forms of remuneration of employees proper for the particular kind of activity an enterprise engages in.

Pursuant to the decree of 26 February 1982 on the financial management of state enterprises, the remuneration of the labor of the workforce is financed from the enterprise's current activities. But as for awards and bonuses, these are derived from the enterprise's profits following deductions to the contingency fund and the Vocational Activation Fund.

Moreover, decree No 135 of 28 April 1982 of the Council of Ministers concerning the adaptation of certain principles for the remuneration of the employees of state enterprises to the economic reform, has created improved conditions for the implementation of wage policies by enterprises, enabling them to develop their own wage rate tables adapted to the funds at their disposal.

An entirely new set of regulations, introduced by the decree of 26 February 1982 on the financial management of state enterprises, concerns the principles for the formation of the plant social services and housing funds. These regulations require all enterprises once a year to set aside a basic allowance per employee as linked to the lowest monthly wage in the national economy mandatory on 1 January of a given year; the related deduction to the plant social services fund is 50 percent of that wage and to the plant housing fund, 25 percent. Enterprises may on their own complement the plant social services fund and the plant housing fund with additional deductions from the workforce fund.

Under the new economic and financial conditions of state enterprises, plant trade-union organizations will have to strive for a proper coordination of the interests of employees with the activities of the enterprise itself if they are to perform their tasks and obligations. In particular, this means that these organizations will have to work out a model for cooperation and understanding with the organs of the workforce's self-government in fields pertaining to the working, social and personal conditions of the enterprise's workforce.

Above all, plant trade-union organizations will be obligated to express their position on matters concerning the employees of a work establishment but belonging within the exclusive competence of the worker council. Such matters pertain to the enterprise's plan, the division of the enterprise's profits among the various special funds, plant-sponsored housing and social construction, the appointment and recall of the enterprise director and other individuals exercising managerial functions in the enterprise and the voting on the enterprise's work regulations.

Plant trade-union organizations are authorized to express their position on other matters not reserved for the exclusive competence of the worker council, namely, revisions of the enterprise's founding charter, shutdown of the enterprise, allocation of housing for employees, proposals for the conferral of state orders and decorations, distribution of bonuses and awards from the workforce fund and other matters pertaining to working, social and living conditions.

Inasmuch as improvements in the enterprise's economic performance lead to additional funding for bonuses and awards as well as to improved wage conditions for employees, plant trade-union organizations will be obligated to take an active interest in the activities of the enterprise itself and in particular to attend to a just distribution of all employee benefits and thus also effectively

contribute to a correct atmosphere at the labor establishment, this being a highly important motivational factor to every employee.

#### Further Details

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 3 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Joanna Jackowska, Counselor-at-Law: "Trade Unions and the Reform. 2"]

[Text] Until the announced (and soon to be implemented) updating of the Labor Law Code takes place, plant trade-union organizations have, pursuant to currently mandatory labor law code and implementing regulations, legal guarantees for participation in the determination of labor relations at the following legal institutions:

1. The plant, which before deciding to give notice of termination of the labor contract or notice of job and wage termination to a trade union member is under the obligation of notifying in writing the board of the plant trade-union organization about the specific reasons for the termination. If the board of the plant trade-union organization believes that termination in a particular case is unjustified, it may notify in writing, within 5 days following reception of the notice, the director of the work establishment about justified reservations (based on Articles 38 and 45 of the Labor Law Code) concerning the case.
2. The director of the work establishment decides on terminating the labor contract without prior notice to the employee belonging to a trade union upon consulting the board of the plant trade-union organization which he informs in writing about reasons for terminating the labor contract. In the event it has reservations about the validity of the termination, the board immediately, but not later than within 3 days, expresses its opinion (Article 52, Paragraph 3, and Article 53, Paragraph 3, of the Labor Law Code).
3. The termination of a labor contract during the pregnancy and maternity leave of a female employee belonging to the trade union requires prior approval of the board of the plant trade-union organization (Article 177, Paragraph 1, of the Labor Law Code).
4. The termination of the labor contract with the plant and department social inspectorate of labor requires the same approval as above (Article 9 of the Decree of 4 February 1950 on the Social Inspection of Work).
5. As regards social and cultural activities, awarding of employees, advancement of occupational qualifications and the formation of social intercourse at the work establishment, the director cooperates with the board of the plant trade-union echelon (Article 95 of the Labor Law Code).
6. Awards and distinctions are granted to employees following consultation with the board of the plant trade-union organization (Article 107 of the Labor Law Code).
7. The board of the plant trade-union organization opines on plans for rest furloughs (Article 163, Paragraph 1, of the Labor Law Code).

8. Rejection of an employee's protest against an imposed disciplinary penalty is decided upon by the plant director after consulting the board of the plant trade-union organization (Article 112 of the Labor Law Code).

9. If the cost of damage caused by an employee does not exceed 1,000 zlotys or the degree of his guilt is minor, the plant director may, upon the recommendation of the board of the trade-union organization, drop proceedings for restitution of damage and impose a disciplinary penalty on the employee (Article 119, Paragraph 2, of the Labor Law Code).

10. The work schedule and the determination of night-shift hours at plants lacking work regulations are decided upon by the plant director in consultation with the trade union (Article 131 of the Labor Law Code).

11. Exercise of social supervision over working conditions at the work establishment (Article 237 of the Labor Law Code).

12. Members of the plant arbitration commission are appointed by the director in cooperation with the board of the trade-union organization (Article 251 of the Labor Law Code).

On the other hand, the provisions of the Labor Law Code grant extensive rights to higher-level trade-union echelons as regards the shaping of labor relations with employees, namely:

1. Regarding reservations by the trade-union organizations concerning the termination of labor contracts (Article 38, paragraph 3, of the Labor Law Code).

2. Revision of opinion about an employee, in the event that it is questioned (Article 98, Paragraph 6, of the Labor Law Code).

3. Expression of approval of the termination of labor contract with a member of the board of the plant trade-union organization (Article 54, Paragraph 4, of the Labor Law Code).

However, during the period ending 31 December 1983, these provisions governing the tasks of the higher-level trade-union organizations, will not apply, inasmuch as, pursuant to Article 53, Point 1, of the decree of 8 October 1982 on trade unions, during this period trade-union organizations may exist and be active only at the level of the work establishment.

#### More on Unions, Reform

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Joanna Jackowska, Counselor-at-Law: "Trade Unions and the Reform. 3"]

[Text] It ensues from the first two parts of this article that the Labor Law Code greatly restricts the cooperation of plant trade-union organizations with the plant management as regards the determination of labor relations, and that that cooperation is, as a rule, in the nature of consultation. The previously described rights of plant trade-union organizations are not adequate to the new socio-economic situation of state enterprises as well as to the competences and role of trade unions ensuing from the new trade-union decree.

The problem of normalizing labor relations under the new conditions in our country requires a separate broader treatment. The present article points to the need to revise the provisions of the Labor Law Code so as to adapt them to the new situation in the trade union movement and the new economic-financial system of state enterprises.

Above all, as regards protecting the lastingness of labor relationship, it is necessary to completely relinquish the possibility of cooperation with higher trade-union echelons with respect to the termination of labor relationship, rectification of opinion about an employee and expression of approval for the dismissal of a board member of the plant trade-union organization from his job. Such provisions conflict with the principle of intra-union democracy.

The scope of the rights of plant trade-union organizations must be broadened, particularly as regards the dismissal of employees. Immediate termination of the labor relationship of a board member of the plant trade-union organization should occur only through his fault and upon prior consent of the plant trade-union organization rather than of some higher trade-union echelon.

The termination of the labor contract of an employee should be contingent on the mandatory and binding opinion of the board of the plant trade-union organization.

In addition, the hitherto mandatory general clause of Article 45 of the Labor Law Code, which is limited to requiring the statement of "reasons justifying the dismissal," should be supplanted with at least a negative listing of events precluding the possibility of dismissal.

The suitability of such a listing should evoke no doubts under the new conditions of the activity of enterprises. The gaining of autonomy by enterprises, their organizational restructuring and the possibility of the shutdown of enterprises represent circumstances which harbor the threat of depriving employees of their jobs and augmenting social tensions.

In this connection, irrespective of the need to promulgate new measures for the protection of workers, it is precisely these new circumstances that make it imperative to grant to plant trade-union organizations rights safeguarding the permanence of labor relationship, thus implementing the trade-union decree and in practice serving to reduce social tensions and conflicts. The Labor Law Code should also be revised to extend the scope of the rights of plant trade-union organizations to such other aspects of the labor relationship as the granting of remuneration for work, bonuses, awards and other benefits and allowances ensuing from the labor relationship.

It is to be considered that, although at present the trade union movement has a smaller membership, in the future it will represent the entire workforce. Hence too there appears to be an urgent need for a new revision of the role and tasks of plant trade-union organizations.

## Workers' Cultural Movement

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 7 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Antoni Strzalkowski: "Creative Worker Movement"]

[Text] /Workers and working people in general should participate more freely in culture and take part in it not only as its consumers and disseminators but also as its creators./ [printed in boldface]

The creative participation of workers in culture has not previously been appreciated, favorably treated and properly utilized in People's Poland. It was regarded as a fifth wheel, not to be acted upon. It somehow went on of itself, like a kind of "extra baggage." This movement, as a socially positive phenomenon, became a surprise and a simply insoluble problem to us. To be sure, there existed a literary (diarist) movement, we had workers' ensembles, orchestras and theatres, and there were numerous amateur plastic artists, but in reality this grew from the scratch and died out readily, being deprived of a favorable climate and conditions as well as of interest from professional artists. The latter attributed their unfavorable attitude to fears of impoverishment of national culture, primitivism--although the real reason may rather have been the protection of their own interests against the peril of inundation, competition from nonprofessional artists. These fears were entertained not by genuine great artists but by a majority of those who could not demonstrate above-average artistic talents.

Such concepts and practices have not benefited culture, because a more advantageous approach would have been precisely rapprochement and understanding and exchange of views based on partner-like contacts between the creative intelligentsia, scientists and writers and the worker community, including creative workers.

Here it is to be considered that we live and act next to each other in a worker state whose actual creator was the worker--who also represents the main force creating the basic wealth of this country, and who hence also is an evident co-creator of progress and modernity in this society. Besides, the worker has more than once proved in the past that he is capable of thinking creatively, acting talentedly and demonstrating exceptional abilities in various situations. One should also bear in mind the unusual traditions of proletarian art from the inter-war period and even earlier.

At present workers are mostly persons skilled in their occupations and possessing an adequate academic background and sometimes even additionally acquired knowledge suited to their interests, liking and exceptional talents. They are thus individuals with exceptional values who distinguish themselves by their mind, personal culture, great ambition and will to act.

Even now the average worker is unwilling to rest content with just any cultural entertainment; thus there is nothing surprising that the more capable and mature workers wish not only to benefit from cultural values but also to contribute to them. Why then should not they be helped in this? Why should not interest be shown in their potential and good wishes, considering that this may promote the common good and benefits? All that is needed is a little good will so as to supplant all prejudices and contempt with normal well-intentioned cooperation, understanding and some respect for each other and for the purpose this is to serve.

If we shall support each other and capably co-create in this manner, our situation as a nation may indeed become much better than that in which we had recently become bogged down so thoughtlessly. Here, there is no way we can overlook the irregularities existing in culture. Above all, something must be changed and brought into order in this respect.

The new period in the development of the creativity of workers in Poland began, properly speaking, following August 1980. The literary movement underwent a marked change. There appeared the idea of the Worker Association of Creators of Culture [RSTK], put forward by the Warsaw Literary Club. The first such Association was registered on 5 November 1980 in Warsaw. At present, counterparts to this form of activity are being formed in individual provinces.

In Bialystok also a RSTK group has been formed, with the object of organizing and spreading creative community movement in our regions and providing the conditions for its development and for the presentation of the creative contributions of its members as well as gaining universal recognition of the creativity of workers as a distinctive enrichment of the nation's cultural mainstream and disseminating culture in work communities. Anyone who accepts the values of worker culture and desires to make a creative contribution to its further development can participate in this association. The RSTKs are of an inter-community and inter-generation nature.

The present general cultural crisis creates a need for the living participation of talented workers in cultural activities within work communities. This concerns chiefly creative writers deriving from and authentically linked to the milieux and larger concentrations of the working class. Their activity will stimulate and revive these milieux and help form other active groups concentrating workers who are plastic artists, rationalizers, sculptors, photographers, etc.—groups open to all working people who are interested in an active participation in the culture of our region.

The role of the program and consultation center is performed by the Worker Association of Creators of Culture in Warsaw, 1 Nowy Zjazd Street. It publishes its own periodical, the biweekly 'TWORCZOSC ROBOTNIKOW' [Creativity of Workers], and provides regular consultation and advice on creative writing.

The Worker Association of Creators of Culture is inspired, represented and sponsored by the National Coordinating Council of Creative Worker Groups and Associations, which is an autonomous and self-governing public body.

Thus the creative worker movement is not a new phenomenon in Poland; rather, it is little known and, what is more, so far treated by some circles in a fairly controversial and unequivocal manner. The very fact of the formation of an organizational framework for the creativity of workers in Poland and the establishment of the RSTK is meeting with neither sympathy nor support from, primarily, the milieux of professional writers.

It is not difficult to guess that this matter has been—in Bialystok Province too—surrounded by, as it were, an atmosphere of conspiratorial silence and—as usual—waiting to "follow the leader."

I believe that it is time for local creators, politicians and interested persons to comment on this matter and declare what they think of it and how they view reforms in culture, and what are they proposing.

#### Assumptions of Union Elective Law

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 16 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Dr Antoni Bewszko:"Premises of Electoral Bylaws for Trade Unions"]

[Text] The renascence of the trade union movement in our region is visibly gaining in impetus. Less than 5 months have elapsed since the decree on trade unions had been promulgated last October, but since then more than 1,500 initiating groups and founding committees have arisen on the initiative of the workforces in the Krosno, Przemysl, Rzeszow and Tarnobrzeg provinces. The province courts have received a total of 480 applications for registration, of which 322 have already been approved. Election meetings at which members of plant trade-union boards were elected have already been held in more than 130 labor establishments. Each day trade-union membership is growing. However, the lack of vertical organizational structures prevents compiling exact statistics on the actual total membership of all trade-union organizations.

Current contacts maintained in every province by information-advisory teams for trade union affairs operating under the presidiums of the province peoples councils [WRN]--and not as is often being said directly under province governors--indicate that many founding committees have problems in preparing draft trade-union bylaws. These problems can be surmounted readily--by establishing direct contact with an information-advisory team. Within each of these teams experienced lawyers are on duty on specific days and at specific hours to provide advice and assistance in all matters relating to, among other things, the preparation of draft bylaws. In our region it has also become a good custom for legal advisers employed at work establishments as well as for activist members of the Association of Polish Lawyers to provide assistance.

The already registered trade-union founding committees which have not yet held elections report lack of information about the principles for organizing and convening election meetings at which plant trade-union boards are to be constituted. To satisfy the need for information of this kind, I am presenting below the basic principles for union election procedures at plants. Let it be noted that these are model electoral rules for a general meeting of members or delegates, drafted by the Public Advisory Commission appointed by the Council of State.

The founding committee of a court-registered trade union is the body authorized to convene the general election meeting. It does so in the form of a resolution whose contents should be publicized (by the procedure normally followed in a work establishment) at least two weeks prior to the date set for the meeting. The body convening the general meeting has the duty of informing the union members about the contents of the registered statute of the union, the draft bylaws of

meetings and the draft budget. The right to participate in the general election meeting belongs to all union members. Their presence at the meeting should be proved by their signatures on the rollcall sheet. The required quorum is 50 percent of the union's membership.

The meeting is opened by the chairman of the founding committee or a designated member of that committee. During its first stage, that of open voting, the chair and the presidium of the meeting are elected in the specified number.

Subsequently, the chair presides over the deliberations. He proposes the agenda and submits it to a vote. The agenda of the meeting should include the following items: confirmation of the procedural rules, election of (mandate, resolutions and recommendations, and credentials) commissions; report by the founding committee; discussion; election of the chairman of the union board and announcement of the winner; nomination of candidates for membership on the board (in the number to be determined by the meeting) and in the audit commission (also in the number to be determined by the meeting); elections of members of the board and the audit commission and announcement of the winners; acceptance of the union's budget and adoption of a program resolution.

Decisions on matters included in the agenda are taken by the meeting in the form of resolutions voted upon openly and adopted by a simple majority of votes. This does not apply to elections to organs of the union which, pursuant to the decree on trade unions and the statute, must be based exclusively on secret balloting. It should also be added that all amendments and revisions of the statute require a two-thirds majority of votes.

Candidates to trade-union organs are nominated by the union members present at the meeting. The reasons for nomination have to be explained. All candidates must accept nomination before the list of candidates is approved. There is no limit on the number of candidates. It is worth noting that persons holding managerial positions at the plant that are specified in the union's statute may be union officers. Election lists are prepared separately for candidates for the posts of chairman, board member and audit commission member, in alphabetical order.

Voting on candidates to each of the union organs mentioned above occurs by deleting at least the number of candidates exceeding the specified number of members of a given union organ. A vote is invalid if the election list contains more candidates than had been determined by the meeting. The votes are tallied by the credentials commission. The winning candidates are those receiving the most votes and more than 50 percent of the valid votes.

The bylaws governing the general election meeting should provide for a modification regarding the meetings of delegates. The general principle proposed is that the rules for the general election meeting of members be followed in this case, too, with allowance for the revisions below.

The meeting of delegates should be preceded by branch or department meetings or union-group meetings at which, following the voting rules presented above, delegates are elected in proportions specified by the founding committee. The

time, place and agenda of the meeting of delegates must be announced to them in writing, on appending copies of the statute, the draft bylaws of the meeting, the draft union budget, and the delegate's mandate. The meeting of delegates may also be attended by union members who are not delegates. To be valid, the meeting must have a quorum of two-thirds of the delegates.

The first meeting of the union board following the elections should be chaired by its chairman. At that meeting, the board elects from among its members (as the need arises) the chairman, deputy chairmen, the secretary, the treasurer and members of the appropriate problem-oriented commissions. Similarly, the audit commission elects its chairman and secretary from among its members.

A highly important duty of the union board is to apply to a registration court, within 14 days from the date of the general meeting, for recording in its registry the persons elected in accordance with the statute to the organs authorized to represent the union. The application must contain the following information: full names of persons elected to the board, their places of residence, and the functions they exercise in the board.

On the request of the information-advisory teams acting in our region, I appeal to the newly elected boards of all trade unions for transmitting to proper local teams of this kind copies of the applications they submit to registration courts. This is indispensable to establishing contacts with the boards in order to offer their members participation in the training courses organized by the Public Advisory Commission for unionists from our region in Jachranka near Warsaw.

Reminder: below are the addresses, telephone numbers and hours at which the province information-advisory teams can be reached: for Krosno--WRN Office, 1 Czajkowskiego Street, telephone 203-14, Mondays and Fridays from 1300 to 1600 hours; for Przemysl--WRN Office, 1 Rynek, telephone 39-17, Tuesdays and Thursdays from 1300 to 1500 hours, Rm. 47; for Rzeszow--WRN Office, 15 Grunwaldzka Street, telephone 343-63, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays from 1300 to 1600 hours, Rm. 213; for Tarnobrzeg--WRN Office, 32 Kosciuszki Street, telephone 22-19-99, Tuesdays and Fridays from 1300 to 1600 hours, Rm. 206.

1386  
CSO: 2600|856

COLUMNIST DISCUSSES DIVISIONS WITHIN SOCIETY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 24, 11 Jun 83 p 16

/Article by KTT: "Divisions"/

/Text/ One can give it different names, but no one can deny that Polish society is now divided as it has never been during the post-war period. We have in practice learned to see and somehow accept the divisions along the line: Christians - atheists, as well as the division between those supporting the line adopted after 13 December 1981 and those not supporting it. Among the latter there is a great variety of shades, from those unconvinced and reluctant, to open enemies of the socialist system.

However important these two divisions are, they do not exhaust the whole variety of contradictions we face every day. Additionally there are divisions along the lines of interests (e.g., between the interests of private land owners and the interests of urban population), generations (here living through or consciousness of World War II seems to be the clear dividing line) and, finally, attitudes concerning general ideals and aspirations (e.g., between the egalitarians and the supporters of free enterprise, the traditionalists and the supporters of modernization, etc.). These divisions cross with each other and create the strangest mixtures, such as, e.g., a pro-government atheist peasant, a middle aged traditionalist, or a young city inhabitant, Christian, supporter of free enterprise and opponent of the line of 13 December; all those mixtures, even the most fantastic, constitute the present day Polish reality.

Thus the idea that, keeping in mind all the differences and excluding those for whom the only solution would be to blow up the whole country together with its contradictions, a system of superior values, common to all, should be constructed over this whirl, as well as a system of institutions capable of taking the contradictions into consideration, negotiating and, finally, bringing them to a common denominator within the framework of socialist democracy, seems to be an ambitious concept of national compromise. I believe, however, that nothing will come of it, if we do not realize the nature of the existing divisions and if we agree to withcraft and exorcisms, instead of rational evaluation.

For instance, a columnist from SZPILKI has recently stated in a very sensible article that most of the propaganda and argumentation on TV is retrospective

in character, i.e., it is aimed at people who have lived through the war and remember the years of reconstructing the country. Therefore, the vision that appeals to them is the vision of peace, moderation and satisfaction with little - but secure; in other words, this is the picture of a perhaps not very sunny, but quiet autumn. This argumentation calls upon many valuable and dear memories that nobody intends to question. It is obvious, however, that it has little influence on people in their early spring rather than autumn, for whom Professor Bobrowski's reminiscences from the years 1945-46 - fascinating for me personally - have an emotional appeal similar to the famous document "Dragons Ludex" connected with the rule of Mieszki I.

In a way, similar things are happening here now to the term "modernity." Several years of the "propaganda of success" as well as the years of crisis following it have discredited this term considerably in the eyes of society, so it is only natural that after the modernistic euphoria the slogan to "return to the roots" began to function strongly. This slogan may have two meanings, though. On the one hand it is meant to remind of the political system from the period immediately after the war, with its openness and conciliatory attitude, the concept of a minority government carrying out reforms and gradually gaining the society's confidence, which did not exclude an open fight with the armed underground; and such features as openness, conciliatory and reformatory attitudes, etc. are demonstrated by the present authorities, under different historical conditions. On the other hand, one can sometimes hear in this call to "return to the roots" the same accents that drew the SZPILKI columnist's attention in TV propaganda, namely, argumentation to restrict ourselves to elementary matters, to learn resignation from the generation of our fathers, to be satisfied with the fact that the roof does not leak, that there is water in the faucet, that the street car is moving.

Let us say frankly that while the former meaning of the "return to the roots" slogan, which had brought effects and progress in the past, is a conscious choice of a means of exercising authority in a socialist system, the latter meaning is forced upon us not so much by conscious choice, but by necessity, i.e., the economic situation. It would not be right, however, to make virtue out of necessity. Heraclitus was right when he said that one cannot enter the same river twice. Thus also the society that has not only tried it (and what a price it had to pay!), cannot be persuaded now that this is the poisoned fruit and that any idea about it is wicked. Anyway, we cannot persuade those who intend to spend most of their lives in the 21st century, and they are in the majority today.

Speaking of modernity in the same way it was spoken of a few years ago would be ridiculous, but not speaking about it at all would mean depriving ourselves of emotional perspectives, as well as of practical opportunities for the future, and this concerns not only young people, but also those in the prime of their lives who, despite everything, do not intend to let themselves be buried yet.

I will use an example here. It is well known that the system of movie theaters in Poland is in ruin: there are too few of them and their condition

is deteriorating. Hence, the reconstruction of movie theaters would obviously be a worthy and serious goal. While, however, our movie theaters were deteriorating, a great video revolution took place in the world. It would be difficult now to find out whether in highly developed countries more people watch films in movie theaters or on the screens of their own TV sets, from video cassettes. What is even more interesting, the video system is beginning to make its first steps in our country - although it has not been postulated or promoted by anybody - and experts say there are at least 20,000 private video players in Poland now. Also, a commercial network of rentals and video shows as well as recordings is developing. Naturally, this is just a drop in the ocean, but there is life in this drop. I hear that a team has been called to assess the chances of the video cassettes in our country and this fact reminds me of Koszaek-Opaek's expedition in search of spring from the famous fairy tale by Konopnicka; as is known, Koszaek did not notice spring even though it was all around him.

Of course, we can say that "we cannot afford the video industry" and this statement may be defended with the help of a number of financial indicators. But we will pay dearly for it in the future. We speak of the reconstruction of our socio-economic system, but any reconstruction today must include construction, since, to be effective, it must consist of absolutely new elements. I recently saw materials concerning the reform and reconstruction of the school system. The general impression I got from this reading is that we are preparing to provide the future school with a full supply of inkwells, wide-tipped pens and other types of nibs (whoever remembers something like this, raise your hand and join the generation of "fogies") and blotting paper. And it is known that the school of the future, if it is to be created, must be the school of video recorders, calculators, typewriters. If we say that "we cannot afford it" and that they are some modern whims, we are going to lose to those who are now in the process of creating a school like this.

There are a number of people - very respectable and honest - who do not feel anxieties of this type and who even see a kind of reasonable happiness in solid rusticity. There are also those, however, who see the beginnings of the catastrophe that will come sooner or later if there is no realistic and far-sighted plan. This is one more of the Polish divisions and not an unimportant one either: it is political today and will be vital in the future.

12417  
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CRITERIA FOR DISSOLVING BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS QUESTIONED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Tamara Indik]

[Text] Dissolutions of BOLC's [Basic Organizations of the League of Communists] are on the rise, most frequent causes are the distribution of income and apartments, the selection of managing functions in the collective...but they are not dissolved because of, let us say, weak work or poor production. Obviously, clearer and more uniform criteria are necessary for the application of the most severe punishment in the LC.

Point 32 of the Statute of the League of Communists of Croatia (LCC) says, "when the basic party organization of the LC does not act in accordance with the Program and Statute of the LCY and LCC and when it cannot assure the basic conditions for sociopolitical and ideological action, then it is to be dissolved. The LCC's communal committee is to issue the Decision on Dissolution...."

On the basis of facts from the conferences of the LCC's associations of communes and of the Zagreb City Organization of the LCC, 16 basic party organizations were dissolved in the LCC from the LCC's Ninth Congress until 30 April of this year, which is .11 percent of 13,841 organizations. That is to say, of 355,515 members of the LCC, there were 377 communists in the dissolved organizations.

Obviously, the number of dissolved organizations is not worrisome, because in relation to the number of BOLC's it is almost negligible, but the pronouncement of these heaviest of ideological political and even organizational measures in the communal committees of the LCC is in recent times on the rise. Therefore, an initiative has been begun in the LCC's Statutory Commission to consider carefully the problems and occurrences of BOLC's being dissolved, to discuss and adopt a uniform position on the establishment of common criteria in the entire LCY about the application of the statute in connection with the dissolution of basic party organizations of the LC.

The LCC's Statutory Commission has dedicated its last two meetings to this theme in order to acquaint members with these problems, but also with an

admonition that no one can free himself of the responsibility which arises in dissolving a BOLC. Discussion has shown that one can speak about the partial blame of the communal committees as an organ of the LCC which does not always succeed in arranging the conditions and relations in individual BOLC's, and in a practical sense, complete their activity with a failure--the dissolution of an organization.

#### Causes of Dissolution

The causes of the dissolution of BOLC's have not been made completely clear. But it is reliably known that BOLC's are dissolved which do not meet, which are passive and as such are not in the position to execute any kind of action. As a target are those BOLC's in which appear crises caused mainly by a poor distribution of personal income and apartments, competition for managing functions which then cause bad and disrupted interpersonal relations, an unhealthy work atmosphere and even the creation of cliques.

As a rule, most members of the LC are not directly involved in creating the poor state of affairs in the collective (BOLC). Only a few members, by their behavior have caused and are causing a state of affairs which will ultimately result in the decision of the communal committee to dissolve the organization.

In most cases, by supplemental discussions it has been established that all possibilities were not exhausted which could reconcile those quarreling, lead to healthier relations and solve the existing poor state of affairs, that is, eliminate the causes of such a state. This means, practically, that the committee's working groups did not go far enough in illuminating the situation, did not struggle sufficiently to make communists, either alone or with the committee's help, capable of surmounting the crisis conditions and of moving toward a normalization of party life.

There are collectives in which work ceases, production is falling, errors are rife in production (waste) and the party organization is not occupied with living problems. Such organizations have not been dissolved in even one case. In such cases, it is necessary to ask why Point 32 of the Statute on the Dissolution of BOLC's, which obviously do not live either a partison or any other kind of life, is not applied.

#### Too Long Without a BOLC

Once a party organization is dissolved, if the majority of members decide, they send a complaint to the LCC Central Committee. The complaint procedure must be decided within 3 months.

The communal committee subsequently, with 2 months of the BOLC's dissolution, must establish the political responsibility of every member of the dissolved organization and issue a decision about membership in the LC, about a statement of ideological-political measures.

In practice, however, these time limits are difficult to meet and sometimes the establishment of a BOLC is delayed for months or even a year. This is too

long a period of time for a collective not to live a partisan life. In the future, all these processes, when leading to a decision to dissolve a BOLC, must be accelerated.

In most cases, it has been established by supplemental discussions in the communal committee that the poor state of affairs arose in the basic organization, that is, as conditions of dissolution, as the fault of a fewer number of members, who then are excluded from the LCY but the majority remains in the LC, in the new BOLC.

In the LCC's Statutory Commission, it is stressed that some decisions show both "indiscretion" and insufficient knowledge of conditions. Sometimes a decision on the dissolution of a BOLC is issued too easily.

A specific point notes that the most severe party measure is pronounced in some places "easily" and "with difficulty" elsewhere. In practice this means that in the LCC and in the LCY it is necessary to persist in issuing instructions about the uniform application of the regulations of the LCY's Statute on the Dissolution of BOLC's in the entire LCY. Therefore, the LCC's Statutory Commission, in cooperation with the Commission of the LCC Central Committee for organizational-cadre development of the LC, continues to follow the application of the LCY and LCC's Statute on the Dissolution of BOLC's, in order to consistently apply it in situations when necessary.

One should expect that the initiatives of the LCC's Statutory Commission in the statutory commissions of the republican and provincial LC's will bear fruit with the joint coordination of conditions and with the issuing of uniform measure which would help the practical work of the communal committees of the League of Communists.

12217  
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YUGOSLAVIA

LJUBLJANA LAW PROFESSOR DISCUSSES NEED FOR SOCIAL REFORMS

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[Interview with Dr Ljuba Bavcon, professor of criminal law at the School of Law of Ljubljana University, by TELEX staff writer Alenka Puhar: "Any Reform Has Chances of Succeeding Only If It Obtains the Support of Those Whom It Concerns"; date and place not specified; originally published in TELEX, translated from Slovene into Serbo-Croatian by Miro Sunter, and furnished title and headings by INTERVJU editors]

[Text] "There are obvious remnants of Stalinism in our mentality and in our social mechanisms. They are manifested in the contempt for the principle of legality, in violation of the principle of legal certainty, in the evaluation of arbitrariness, in the reflection that it is a good thing if we have decisions in legislation which lapse in peaceful times and which we can use under a cloak of legality should we need something just like that...." "We need tolerance toward opposed opinion even in the case when it is passionate and exaggerated and inaccurate in its expression, just as Marx said." These reflections of Ljuba Bavcon, which were uttered at various times, were given at the beginning of TELEX staff writer Alenka Puhar's interview with Professor Bavcon.

(Box. D 38)

Dr Bavcon was born in 1924 in Ljubljana. After completing his law studies, he worked for 3 years as a newspaperman, the longest period of time for NASI RAZGLEDI. Since 1955 he has been employed as a professor at the School of Law of Ljubljana University, where even today he is a full professor of criminal law. Back in 1957 Professor Bavcon obtained his doctorate on the topic "The Policy Concerning Crime and Its Tendencies in a Socialist Society."

At a round-table discussion held recently at the School of Law in Ljubljana a student said angrily: "The law should be freed of the dog's function to bark when the authorities so order and to fall silent when it gets a bone between its teeth."

[Question] As a lawyer with 30 years of experience, how do you feel when you hear such words?

[Answer] That dog's function is also given the more professional term of the instrumental conception of the law, that is, the conception that the law is only an instrument in the hands of politics. I, of course, am not an adherent of such a view. In my opinion the law must not be an instrument of politics, although to a certain degree it always has been; it has been, and let us be done with it.

The law is that which should be regular. It regulates relations between the individual and society. It came into being because at a certain level of development some rights had to be guaranteed the individual through some mediating mechanism, and at the same time it had to be brought into conformity with what corresponded at a particular time to the concept of fairness, that is, the law of custom. The law is a restriction upon the unlimited power and arbitrariness of the holder of power. Of course, a conception like that is something quite the opposite of the instrumental conception. Down through the centuries the process has gone something like this: the greater the power of the strata which were not in power, which possessed nothing, the more concessions and freedoms the law had to grant them. But for a law to grant something still does not mean that that is the way it is in everyday life, but rather it signifies a declaration of principle as to how it ought to be. To what extent it is actually that way depends in each example on the balance of strength (power) of the participants who come into conflict. While in a democratic state a major violation of the declared freedoms causes a scandal, in others it does not.

#### The Initial Illusions of Socialism

[Question] The criminal law and the practice in criminal punishment in certain socialist countries perhaps represent the most shameful acts of this century. Does that mean that the relations between individuals and the authorities in those societies are particularly delicate?

[Answer] There are several reasons for what happened with jurisprudence in socialism, and it is difficult to pull them out of one's sleeve. One of the causes, in my opinion, lay in harboring the illusion that the interests of the proletariat--of the workers, the peasants and the "worker intelligentsia"--are identical. Something of the kind also occurred in the French Revolution, when the middle estate was united in its opposition to the feudal lords, but it soon turned out not to be the case. The illusion of socialism was that we all have just one interest--building a socialist society in which all will have the same rights, and so on; that, to be sure, we first have to clench our teeth, since the homeland is in ruins, is backward, but that sooner or later paradise will come about in it. But still in a world like that an individual soon comes along who doubts, who does not join the parade, who is different, and who is labeled an opponent and a traitor. Just look, when in 1957 I wrote a dissertation and said in it that it is not true that crime in a socialist society is a consequence of remnants of the old in people's consciousness....

### Intolerance Is a General Problem

[Question] You have even written that this is a vulgar Marxist thesis which has also been disseminated in our country. Were you criticized for that reason?

[Answer] No, even at that time that could be boldly said, especially since it was uttered in the framework of a criticism of Stalinism. What I wanted to say was this: the leaders were infinitely amazed that crime was at all possible when we had already carried out a revolution and "eradicated the social causes of crime." By way of consolation they found the reason that it was a case of remnants of the old or the activity of networks of enemy agents.

[Question] Yet there is as much crime as there are actions in any society which we recognize as unacceptable. Assuming critical speech is not allowed, then anyone who thinks to some extent differently and says so openly could become a criminal.

[Answer] The first assertion is only partially true. With respect to a majority of punishable acts there is agreement in all societies--these can be briefly referred to as conventional crime. Here again crime is actually dependent on what is prosecuted. If some government has the power to do so, every unpleasant word could become punishable (a crime). That is where we are, then, with the so-called verbal crime. I would not like to justify a government which operates that way, but only to say: this is done by every government. The problems of differences of opinion, then, is not only a problem of socialism and not only of the holder of power. Intolerance toward differences of opinion is a problem of people in general. Just think how we look on differences in dress, in behavior, in hair styles. Is not the behavior of a government toward that segment which has power identical to the behavior of people in general? The only difference is that the government can file charges against what it does not like and send the police.

[Question] But that is the essential difference?

[Answer] Of course, it is essential. But the mechanism is the same or similar.

### Self-Management Needs People Who Speak Freely

[Question] The SFRY Criminal Code has several articles aimed at differing opinions. As far as I know, the commission which prepared it, of which you were a member, recommended certain amendments. But they did not go through.... Two years ago a petition was circulated throughout Yugoslavia and signed by more than 1,000 intellectuals for deleting the article about hostile propaganda. But that petition was not successful....

[Answer] This cannot be done with petitions.

[Question] Why not? Can it be that they do not [sic] encounter such resistance?

[Answer] I would rather say they encounter fear. The petitions in this society are the best way of doing some cause a disservice. That is, of course, my personal opinion, which might seem opportunistic to some people. Not to me, since I have given this quite a bit of thought. I will give an example. Our commission in 1976 was unable to achieve amendment of anything in Article 133. But had the proposal been submitted in late 1977, it probably would have succeeded. At that time, that is, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee adopted several interesting views on political crimes. For instance, that there is no point in exaggerating in safeguarding self-management in the field of criminal law, since self-management is bound up with the freedom of speech; you cannot self-manage if you wear a gag and if prosecution threatens you for every awkward word. In that climate our proposal would most probably have been acceptable. The different climate is also recognized by the fact that in the last decade, and perhaps even the last two, very few people have been convicted under that article, far less than 1 percent of all criminal acts. But that, of course, does not alter my view.

[Question] University students in Ljubljana have asserted before the Constitutional Court that the provision on causing public unrest and spreading untruthful reports--set down in Article 81 of the Law on Public Information--is contrary to the constitutional right of the freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

[Answer] With respect to restriction of the freedom of the press the constitution does not refer to a law, which means that the law cannot broaden the extent of the prohibition. In that sense the law could be contrary to the constitution. However, the problem is not so simple.

[Question] Does that mean that the Constitutional Court has a strenuous task ahead of it?

[Answer] If it takes its role seriously, that is certainly the case. Aside from the legal grounds, it will also have to respect purely practical grounds. Are alarming reports, that is, those which can actually cause unrest, and thereby damage? How are they to be prevented? If the competent authority intervenes before that report reaches the republic, we can charge it with behaving like censorship, which officially does not exist in our system. If it does not intervene in advance, it might then be too late.

#### A Strong System Ought Not To Be Afraid of Every Word

[Question] And where do you see the way out?

[Answer] The way out of this squeeze, in my opinion, is greater tolerance toward differences of opinion, since this can only benefit society, not harm it. A system, if it is strong enough, ought not to fear every word. And to create that kind of climate we need fewer cases of disqualification, especially in those closed circles which make the decisions....

[Question] A judge has an extremely important role. One inevitably recalls the Russian saying: "Fear not the law, but the judge." A few years ago you

declared that "in certain periods of our past very clear provisions of the Criminal Code were not in use." What were you referring to?

[Answer] After the first major economic reform in 1965 and 1966 the principle of profitability prevailed with us over the principle of honesty. All kinds of "advantageous malversations" were tolerated at that time. The captains of business turned to various machinations in a desire to make business flourish. And all that was fine, the most successful were rewarded with praise, some even won decorations and high awards. A change of political direction ensued in 1972, and everything was brought to trial. Suddenly they began to reevaluate decisions which had previously been altogether neglected, and certain people even found themselves in prison for acts for which they had previously been decorated.

[Question] And how about the postwar period? I am thinking of certain trials, Goli Otok and other prisons where the persons convicted in those trials went....

[Answer] That was a time of horrible difficulty, of tension, of fear about what would happen to us. After all, Soviet divisions, real divisions, not imagined ones, were standing on our borders. It became clear to us that Stalinism was a horrifying error, but at the same time that the positions which the Soviet Union had in our country because of our many years of association and through its agents were very strong. In short, I cannot but be affected by this. I am doubly affected. I am affected today when I read Branko Hofman--"Noc do jutra" [Night to Morning]--who writes how all that happened, that is, that we eradicated Stalinism with Stalinist methods. On the other hand I do not know whether any different behavior was possible in that situation. For us who lived through that time it was a terrible dilemma. That is why I so much like the approach which Branko Hofman has taken in his attempt to show both sides.... It is certain that one should condemn the methods of that time: shutting a man into a cell where a man hung by his feet. Lines which all the convicted persons had to run through and in which they were beaten on their arrival at Goli Otok, putting people in the bilge of a ship.... Yet in general this was probably something like an operation for cancer when you have to remove even some healthy tissue since you do not know how far the metastasis has gone....

#### Well-Kept Secrets

[Question] If I understand you correctly, you are expressing understanding for the lawyers and you are condemning those who carried out the punishment.

[Answer] You know at that time jurisprudence was still much more an instrument of authority than later. At that time OZNA [Department for Protection of the People] would bring to the judge the documentation--usually prepared with some professional competence, although through today's eyes it would appear utterly fantastic--what was he supposed to do?

[Question] Again we arrive at the Russian saying: "Fear not the law, but the judge." Did those events have some influence, some "tipping of the scales,"

in your concerning yourself with criminal law, in your analyzing possible interpretations?

[Answer] To tell the truth, if I were to take today the views I took then, my positions would not be what they are. My interpretations today are the result of accumulated experience and knowledge. You know, when in 1955 and 1956 we began to receive specialized literature from the USSR and we began to read authors who had discovered and attacked illegalities in Stalinism, this was a real revelation for us. I did not even dream that something like that was also happening in our own country.

[Question] Was it so cleverly concealed?

[Answer] Wonderfully. When in 1955 we established the Criminology Institute, Mitja Ribicic was the minister of internal affairs. At that time the door to that ministry was wide open to us, never again was it to be so wide open. But only in the field of crime. State security was a world to itself, solidly closed off. What happened in our country began to be detected later.

[Question] Does it not seem to you that not everyone can be a judge? That a great deal of wisdom in the affairs of life is necessary for someone to be able to be a judge, one who can have such decisive influence on people's lives?

[Answer] Certainly. Especially the judge who is concerned with crime. I think that it would be very intelligent if those positions were held by people who have sufficient experience of life and which they would use in rendering verdicts.

#### Fairness--In Spite of Everything

[Question] Aren't there also character traits that would be desirable, say, rectitude a bit above the average? After all, when we speak about the autonomy of the courts, we are really speaking about the autonomy of judges.

[Answer] Of course. The judge has to be an upright man, yet more: a man with high personal courage.... Incidentally, have you read Draskovic's book "Sudija" [The Judge]?

[Question] I have. And what do you think about it?

[Answer] All the best. I liked the second part less than the first. The first part portrayed a judge's independence based on professional competence. You already know that the judge called upon a professor of ethics for help. He knew what a tape recorder was, what one may and may not do with it. In short, this was not a judge who was independent just by accident; without foundation. His independence was based on knowledge. And the second part shows the danger to which a person in the law may give in to. The Romans recognized this long ago and expressed it in the words: Vivat justitia, pereat mundus--which is to say: fairness in spite of everything....

[Question] Have you talked about this book with your students?

[Answer] I have, since I am also in favor of the kind of judge who knows how to choose the right combination of fairness and caution, expedience to man's advantage, or at least not to his harm. I have been attempting to these many years to explain to my students that it would be an illusion for them to suppose that they have been of some particular benefit because they have shut someone up. So that they will strive to do at least as little harm as possible.

[Question] How do you feel as a man who has "trained" for the calling of judge a majority of the present generation of Slovenian lawyers?

[Answer] I do not know what to say. I do not believe that a school or even an individual professor can take credit for the success of any activity or can be responsible on the other hand for its shortcomings. I am gratified when, for example, I learn of the professionally substantiated and humanly courageous verdicts pronounced by the upper courts in Ljubljana and Koper in the Trobec and Morgan case. When I hear of some "backslicing," then I take myself to task: "How could you ever have passed him in the examination!"

As for our school, the situation is this: the School of Law now has slightly fewer professors on the faculty than 10 years ago, since there is no money for them. Neither I nor my colleague Alenka Selih have a single assistant! Under such conditions it is hard for a man to take on himself responsibility for the quality of education.

#### Concerning the Trial of Ranka Cicak

[Question] The Belgrade criminologist Dr Ivan Jankovic wrote an open letter last year which was probably published only in Slovenia, in MLADINA. In it he described the awful conditions in prisons in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, which he backed up with documentation. Can you compare the conditions in prisons in Serbia and Slovenia?

[Answer] I am convinced that conditions in Slovenian jails are different from those described by Jankovic. One should, of course, not forget that every prison, in figurative terms, is a "house of horror and dread." This essence of the matter cannot be changed. It can be reduced to the minimum possible measure, as a group of staff members of the female punitive and correctional institution at Ig was fortunate enough to do.

[Question] Do you feel, though not formally, that you share at least a bit of the responsibility for things which you are not aware of?

[Answer] Yes, but that feeling holds me above all because it is very difficult or altogether impossible for me to obtain up-to-date and accurate figures on what is happening in practice. That is why I am rather weak even in matters on which in view of my position I would certainly have something to say. For example, I have no material whatsoever on the trial against Ranka Cicak or on other current examples which have been written about in fairly different

ways, unclearly and contradictorily in the newspapers. And I would not be able to obtain that material at all, even were I to petition for it.

[Question] Are those documents so confidential?

[Answer] The answer is usually that the verdict is not yet final. And when it becomes final, I probably would obtain the material, if I request it, but then it is already too late. That is not good. It is usually said that this is not in my jurisdiction and that the independence of the court is involved....

#### Once Again on the Death Penalty

[Question] You are a well-known opponent of the death penalty. This probably has not only a rational background, but also a certain nonrational background.

[Answer] There is in general much of that irrational in views of the death penalty, both with those who advocate it and those who think as I do: that we could survive without it. Aside from the emotional background, research offers a number of counterarguments. There is no evidence, for instance, that the death penalty would act as a general preventive or have a frightening effect on potential perpetrators of punishable acts....

[Question] You are the member of longest standing on the editorial committee of NASI RAZGLEDI. You were there when the magazine was founded....

[Answer] Oh, no, no I wasn't, in 1952 I was an editor of the domestic politics department of SLOVENSKI POREVALAC.

[Question] And what are your recollections of journalism?

[Answer] I remember that I was as it were married to POREVALAC--I was in the office from morning till late in the evening. I remember that I was always blamed for something in advance. Domestic politics at that time were a still more sensitive field than today.

[Question] Did you leave because you were "blamed for something in advance"?

[Answer] By and large. And, of course, I also had other ambitions. I confess that this has been of considerable benefit to me--I learned to write succinctly, pithily and understandably. After that I spent 1.5 years, in 1953 and 1954, as the only professional on RAZGLEDI.

[Question] That was the golden era of NASI RAZGLEDI, wasn't it? It was very bold and open....

[Answer] Yes, it was the magazine which at that time advocated the democratic version of socialism, socialism to a human measure. It took the idea of self-management, that is, for the idea of democratic socialism.

## The Advantage of Slovenian Intellectuals

[Question] Probably the term democracy meant above all a larger piece of freedom and RAZGLEDI attempted to broaden that space of freedom. But that period did not last long, did it?

[Answer] It depends on how you look at it. You know, the history of RAZGLEDI is very uneven, it has its ups and downs. Should some historian ever decipher them, he would be able to establish with fair accuracy that the ups and downs were related to political events, to the times of relaxation and those of tightening up, to the southerly winds and to the freezes. Certain periods promised a great deal. This should probably be emphasized: Slovenian intellectuals have the characteristic that the enormous majority of them participated in the National Liberation Struggle and that during the entire time after the war and up until the present time they have had a constructive disposition toward this system. They have wanted to participate, which is to say they wanted to participate more than was allowed them. And there were periods when they felt, I at least experienced it this way: aha, now the time has come when I will be able to participate creatively....

[Question] In favor, and not against?

[Answer] Yes, of course, in favor ... when will someone ask me something, when will I be able to say something, to do something, to research something, to study something, to develop cultural creativity, science, to win people over?... And then would come another freeze, people would scatter, each to his own corner, no one any longer wanted to write, and if he had to, then only at the academic level and about so-called "leftwing" problems. For that reason, to tell the truth, it cannot be said that RAZGLEDI had only one golden period....

## From Reform to Reform

[Question] In what period, in your opinion, are we living now, is it a thaw or a freeze? How hot does it seem to you?

[Answer] A very tiny thaw is felt. It seems to me that in this sociopolitical context, which is obvious, at least some of the leading figures realize the need for all the creatively capable people to be involved, all men, let us say, of goodwill. The situation in and of itself drives us to that. It is driving us to greater understanding for pluralism. First of all, those politicians who have a bit more responsiveness are understanding more and more that reforms cannot be carried out regardless of people and their will, however correct, epochal or whatever else they might seem. If an idea does not obtain support among people, it is condemned to failure. I have said this several times already concerning the reform of education--but not only this one, but also that previous one, since there have already been too many of them. Precisely for that reason they now have to be carried out again! For example, the reform of the study of criminal law can be carried to the end only by the person who teaches it, but only provided he has taken it up as his own. We will do nothing if someone is driving us to something which is nonsensical and ridiculous. Any reform, in whatever field, has a chance of success only if it obtains the support of those whom the reform concerns. We have ordinary empirical experience to show that that is the case.

YUGOSLAVIA

DESIGNER OF NEW MILITARY AIRCRAFT INTERVIEWED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 83 pp 3-5

[Interview with Col Eng Ljubomir Gruborovic, designer of Galeb-4 and staff specialist of the Aeronautical Engineering Institute, by Aleksandra Tomic: "The Future of a Warplane in Mobility"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Colonel Gruborovic, would you present the Galeb-4 to readers of FRONT in popular language? This is a combat plane intended above all for defense?

[Answer] In the briefest terms the Galeb-4 is a single-engine training and combat plane designed for up-to-date flight and combat training, for the training of pilots in operational units, and then a plane for tactical support and a plane for towing and launching airborne targets, for exercises in anti-air defense. It is a low-wing plane with a cantilever wing, retractable undercarriage and ejection seats to save the crew. The pilots sit one behind the other, thus guaranteeing the same overall sense and visibility as from the forward cockpit. The cockpit is air-conditioned [and the plane is] equipped to carry weapons in five locations--four on the wings and one under the fuselage. It is so designed that it can land and take off from both concrete runways and grass airstrips. It is so protected that it can be stored in a positive condition. Rocket assist is used to shorten the length of the runway on takeoff, and a braking parachute is used to shorten the runway during landing. It is metal construction; up-to-date aircraft materials and technologies have been used; and its strength is capable of withstanding all the loads for the conditions envisaged.

Combat Capability

[Question] To what extent did the component of defense or training impose certain design characteristics and determine in advance the features of the Galeb-4?

[Answer] Thanks to the very high characteristics and also the quality of the equipment installed, it was possible to fulfill the requirement of tactical support without essentially reducing the primary purpose. The purpose of the entire aircraft was explained in the previous answer. The combat capability of this grouping of aircraft and thereby of this plane itself has been

augmented by the possibility of using varied suitable armament, by the introduction of modern navigation equipment, devices for fire control, and so on.

[Question] If you were to compare the Galeb-4 and the Orao, which would have the advantage?

[Answer] I think that these two airplanes are not to be compared, since their purposes are different. But it can be said that they complement one another. Since a large amount of standardized equipment has been installed in both these planes, a rapid transition can be made from the Galeb-4 to the Orao, which is a higher class of combat plane. However, the capabilities enumerated and realized--as a result of analysis of developmental tendencies of this class of aircraft--largely eliminates restrictions on the use value of this type of aircraft, and consequently of the Galeb-4 as well.

[Question] In a possible future war what kind of Yugoslav aircraft would be the first to take off to defend our skies?

[Answer] All the airplanes we have designed, including the Galeb and Orao, were also designed to meet the requirements of nationwide defense, which means that they must be equipped for active use from concrete and grass airstrips. Their navigation equipment allows them to carry out missions under problematical weather conditions, whereby flexibility of their use is achieved. Flexibility of use, depending on the type and character of the strike, probably also determines priority as to which aircraft will be used. This is more a question for tacticians, while our job is to give them the broadest possible capabilities!

#### Tito's Vision

[Question] The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], thanks to Comrade Tito, commander in chief, in particular, has always devoted exceptional attention to development of the air force. To what extent is this success of air force specialists the fruit of long-lasting investment in this kind of research?

[Answer] The Aeronautical Engineering Institute is a scientific research institute of the YPA for technical development of the air force and antiair defense as a branch of our forces. It was established by order of commander in chief of the armed forces and minister of the FNRJ [Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia] Josip Broz Tito, marshal of Yugoslavia, in 1946. Comrade Tito defined the institute's principal task to be that of using scientific methods and procedures in conducting R&D [line of type omitted] ... in the Yugoslav Air Force. It was at that time that the institute began to be furnished all the necessary laboratories for fulfilling these tasks, and this process is still going on. Tito's farseeing policy and vision, his principle of relying on our own resources, are especially relevant today. The responsibility for fulfilling these tasks imposes a special concern for improving the capability of the institute's personnel and plant and equipment. The very large investments that have been made in the institute impose the obligation of maximum fulfillment of the tasks assigned it. I think that in our work today we have confirmed this.

[Question] How does our Galeb-4 compare to other present-day combat planes; that is, where do we stand in the world of aircraft, viewed with open eyes?

[Answer] The particular virtues of the Galeb-4 as an aircraft are its very high level of maneuverability, its stability and its controllability. With respect to these characteristics it can be confidently compared with foreign planes in the same category. And I believe that the somewhat higher speed characteristics do not have a decisive impact for this group of planes. The future lies in carrying out maneuvers, in up-to-date attack-navigation systems and weapons. So the Galeb-4 is one attempt to achieve a high level of maneuverability in the same category and it represents valuable experience for the future.

[Question] The Galeb has just been exhibited in Paris, at Burze, at the international aircraft salon! This was a significant success for us; but what in practical terms does this signify for our aviation?

[Answer] It means that we have performed the task assigned us in the best possible way. And at the same time the obligation of providing good technical and technological support in operation! Most probably the Galeb-4 will prove to be an example of a successful item for export, like its predecessor the Galeb-2, to a number of friendly nonaligned countries.

#### Computers Will Guide the Aircraft!

[Question] In your opinion, judging broadly, what will the combat airplane of the future be like? That is, how do you imagine it?

[Answer] The combat plane of the future will certainly be based on the highest scientific, technical and technological features. It is evident from practical realization in the world that in the future airborne computers will unify the operation of aircraft systems. The structure of the aircraft is already being built, and indeed will be built, from new materials. Preference will be given to maneuverability and longer-lasting supersonic flight. The attack navigation system will make it possible to travel the most favorable trajectories to the target, and the weapons installed will make it possible to fire from a distance and at several targets. That is, the airplane will most probably be multipurpose, it will have a propulsion group that allows it long-lasting supersonic flight, and there will be an essential reduction of the restrictions in effect up to now on target sighting. Practice will provide a true evaluation of the correctness of these views.

[Question] You mentioned computers and new materials. It would be very good if you would explain this in more detail!

[Answer] The computer is a piece of equipment installed in the plane which by means of its appropriate sensors adjusts and perceives the aircraft's response and the pilot's intention and integrates the airplane's systems and functions, stated roughly. As for materials, they are high-quality steels, aluminum alloys, titanium, composite materials and "sandwich" fabrications.

[Question] The aircraft broke the sound barrier long ago. Will it continue to improve in the sense of higher speed, or will this also be accompanied by greater reliability? To what extent are the two in line with one another?

[Answer] Airplanes today fly as much as 3.5 times faster than sound! I think that in the future there will be no need for such a large increase of speed, but these planes will have a special purpose, and all other combat planes will hold at a speed of Mach 2.2. The other problems will be solved with up-to-date equipment and armament so as to ensure accurate action at great distances. The lower speed limit affords a "compromise" with the other features!

[Question] How much, then, are aircraft carriers "outmoded" and displaced? What sort of role do they have when airplanes cover great distances in the twinkling of an eye?

#### Arrive and Depart

[Answer] As one follows the development of the aircraft, one easily notes the trend toward higher maximum speeds! This has been one of the priority conditions for rapid arrival at the target, but also for rapidly leaving a dangerous situation or place. This trend is continuing even today.

However, I personally believe that those large airplanes which fly at supersonic speeds are best used for reconnaissance. This plane can arrive rapidly, take a view of the situation and quickly bring back the appropriate data. The battle, the fight or whatever we might call it will not be carried out at high speeds, since they have to be accompanied by appropriate weapons.... This gives rise to the need to perfect attack-navigation systems and the need to detect planes at great distances. As for aircraft carriers, they still do have a role in order to reduce the necessary distances, which is related to the tactical radius of action, to shorten the time spent in the enemy's zone, and thereby to increase aircraft survival.

[Question] Does this mean, then, that even the cumbersome bombers are also superseded in a way?

[Answer] As for bomber aircraft, as far as I know, it is used even today only for carrying destructive devices, nuclear bombs, and so on, that is, as a strategic air force. Or in its reconnaissance version, which can quickly arrive at the location of an attack.... Or to frustrate certain attacks! However, that same plane has to get back home. In a single attack it certainly will not destroy the entire defending air force and therefore these other planes, prepared for air combat, can go into action....

[Question] These smaller "nimble" aircraft, as you said awhile back, with high maneuvering ability, also have a great advantage over the latter planes because they can move about them quite quickly.

[Answer] Certainly the maneuvering ability of the plane is a great advantage. Especially in short time intervals and with relatively high load factors. A more nimble man is always more able to carry out certain tasks than a man who is merely fast, were we to compare them that way in simple human terms!

## Speed or Maneuverability

[Question] Does the Galeb-4 have that advantage in a certain sense?

[Answer] Certainly! That is not my opinion alone. The struggle for high speeds and the struggle for high maneuverability of aircraft are constantly displacing one another. There is the desire to "furnish" an airplane high speed, load capacity, electronic equipment, complicated systems, and technical and technological "complications." These demands are not mutually exclusive, but they can interfere with one another.

[Question] A few years ago airplanes with variable wing configuration were regarded as perfection in aeronautics. Does it appear that even they have been superseded?

[Answer] In order to achieve multipurpose performances ensuring a plane equally good characteristics with respect to changing speeds both in support and in antiair defense, these planes have also been designed with variable wing configuration; they exist even today as solutions involving important compromises, and probably they are being improved. I assume that their designers have not left the field that belongs to them! However, recently work has been done on other solutions afforded by the new "fly-by-wire" and CCV [expansion unknown] systems. Translated, this would mean approximately--an aircraft without conventional controls. CCV technology makes it possible in flight to alter the curve of the profile and to alter distortion as a function of flight conditions. In short, there are planes with a variable wing configuration as a solution in a certain relationship, as a compromise in meeting both the piloting and technical capabilities of the plane, that is, of the operation of its system. This other new CCV system of technology relates that optimum relationship among the various requirements for the aircraft involved in the compromise in the most constructive way.

## "Control Surfaces"

[Question] "Fly by wire" [English in original] signifies "flying according to data obtained by wires or channels of some kind.... What is your translation of that?

[Answer] No, but rather this is the effect of the pilot and of signals from the aircraft's sensors on the control surfaces. Which means: instead of conventional controls there are electrical controls with a computer whereby the appropriate operative mechanism in front of the control surface is activated by electrical impulses from the computer. Even now this servomechanism, depending on the movement of certain controls, similarly to the present stick and rigid transmission, in the airplane, activates those "control surfaces" which are no longer of the conventional type! Take, for example, the way the wing works: on the wing there are leading edge and trailing edge flaps which are control surfaces for performance of particular actions. In these modern airplanes or in the airplanes of the future those leading edge and trailing edge flaps do not exist as conventional control surfaces, but there are deformities of the leading edge and trailing edge which meet the needs of control and of adapting to the conditions by various patterns of flight.

### The Bird Is a Model Even Today

[Question] Does the bird in flight inspire aircraft designers today as it once did when man only dreamt about flying? What more could man take from it?

[Answer] As in other professions, so in aviation, people concerned with applied research, with design, are always trying to find inspiration in nature. The bird's capacity for orientation, what we might call wing mechanics, have been and will be a perpetual challenge in aircraft design. In spite of the level of development of attack-navigation systems, maneuverability, and so on, there remain quite a few elements which man attempts to achieve by watching birds. In our previous answer we spoke in fact about a system of modern aircraft using CCV technology. It explained the contributions to this solution of a wing design with variable profile, the purpose being to achieve minimal aerodynamic resistances at given values of lift under all ranges of flight conditions. This is achieved by constant change of the wing curve as a function of flight altitude and speed.

[Question] It is believed that pilots are our "strong point"! To what extent is that the truth and to what extent conviction, prejudice, and so on? And in that connection to what extent is the human factor decisive in aviation?

[Answer] Even before the war our aviation and aircraft design were fairly strong. We have always had reason to be proud of our aircraft and pilots. However, tradition and the natural intelligence of our people are not sufficient prerequisites for attaining supreme characteristics. The present level of aeronautical engineering requires specialists with the maximum training and theoretical and practical ability. The process of acquiring knowledge and of training in our country and in the YPA has been technologically worked out and organized through theoretical study, demonstrations, flight simulators, trainers, and all the way to the most modern aircraft. This is a guarantee that all the human prerequisites will be utilized in the best possible way.

### Everything Depends on Man

[Question] When one looks at civil aviation, at everything that is happening in the world, at how the Boeings, for example, are falling, and so on, the ordinary man wonders: Why are airplanes crashing so much, what are the hazards for ordinary passenger planes? They do not fly at supersonic speeds, they fly at what are low speeds for warplanes. What are the principal dangers for passenger transportation, in the dense air traffic, in the human factor-- whether it is a mechanic who has to check whether everything is alright in the plane before the flight, or the pilot who makes a mistake, or is it the navigator or the one with whom he is in contact at the airport, the flight controller-- or in the materials, in the electronics?

[Answer] You yourself have answered your own question! This is, of course, the human factor. The human factor is manifested on the ground, the human factor is manifested in flight, the human factor is manifested in the organization which does the design. That is, the safety of the air situation will depend on how and to what degree we have involved the human factor and trained

it. The statistics show that the technical factor, that is, failure of materials and the like, are rarely the cause of an airplane accident.

[Question] Are there any indicators to that effect: which are the countries with the lowest percentage of airplane accidents? I do not recall ever hearing of a Swedish airplane crashing, for example.

[Answer] I do not follow such statistics! But the crash of an airplane takes a large number of human lives in passenger transportation. It is most likely that a sizable number of such accidents occur at places or areas where traffic is heavy, places where time in takeoff and landing is measured in minutes.... That is why the receiving services at the airport have quite a few headaches, the flight controllers have many obligations, and then there is a lapse of concentration and an accident. I personally do not follow the statistics on such errors of either the technical or the human factor. We have spoken about how much the armed forces devote to the treatment of training, both theoretical and practical, to drills on the ground, and all of this is "related" to the cost of using the aircraft! All of that is very expensive, the flight hour is expensive.

#### The Imprint of Optimal Solutions

[Question] Colonel Gruborovic, you are the chief designer of the Galeb-4, the fourth version of the Galeb, and an entire team worked alongside you in designing the Galeb. This implies that scientific work in the YPA is a collective matter. Yet to what extent can the chief designer put himself into that collective act?

[Answer] Well, I will explain how it is done where I work. That will show the role of the chief designer as you call that person, while we call him only the supervisor in charge of the team.... R&D is done in the spirit of provisions of the work technology, through groups or set teams. However, collective work cannot be imagined without an appropriate organizational structure which must cover the design requirements. The Aeronautical Engineering Institute is adapted in organizational terms to performance of specific tasks, that is, the tasks of aircraft design. The work is done through specialized collegiums, a scientific council, in teams, in all the staff services and specialties. The supervisors in charge of a given product coordinate the work of the specialized teams, and they are called the project of program leaders. The decisions made are the result of preliminary studies, agreements and reconciliation of proposals and ideas, which guarantees that both individuals and teams are interlocked. Thus the decision always bears the imprint of the optimum solutions of all participants, which gives the decision greater virtue, and that is essentially our main goal. The specific nature of our work is manifested in the fact that its pace, procedures, events and influences cannot be prescribed. The supervisor of "all levels" must bring together inventiveness, experience and ability, skill as a coordinator and initiator. I think that the results of such efforts become evident through successful performance of aircraft which go through production in large runs. This is the system we operate under!

[Question] It would be good for the readers of FRONT to know that you are on the list of exceptional specialists of the YPA.

[Answer] Yes, I receive what is called the specialist's pay supplement, as do a sizable portion of our comrades here. This is a recognition for my work, it is an award granted for a relatively short interval; which means that it requires that a man keep up his activity, since if the activity ceases, the award "dries up."

[Question] Finally, allow us one personal question: How does the designer feel when his "bird" takes flight?

[Answer] Perhaps it would be better to put that question to the entire team, since it was a team success; and the success is shared by the team. Perhaps I do not have the words to precisely describe that feeling! A man is simply happy.

This is felt the most during the first flights! Then you allow a man to test your "bird." Of course, he does not immediately sit in the plane, but has his "ground" preparations, in which our institute takes an intensive part, familiarizing the pilot in question with the new aircraft. While he is in the air, the appropriate specialists indicate certain things to him, remind him of something which needs to be checked.... But the pilot is also a protagonist of that success. The pilot is probably glad that he has managed to fly in something new that is not so well known. In human terms we are all happy that he has been successful, that he has returned home alive and well! Perhaps some other means rather than words would better call up that joy: perhaps taping a conversation, filming the expression of faces....

[Question] You did not mention that after such a "test" you all go to lunch together!

[Answer] Yes, we celebrate that together with food and drink, salami, jests, we recall certain situations during the design, during the preparations, we recall what the pilot went through.... And thus we all feel a tremendous satisfaction, one which has been earned!

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